

THE
APOSTOLATE
OF
PUBLIC OPINION

by
Félix A. MORLION, O. P.
Spiritual Advisor of INTERCIP



PRAYER OF THE PRO DEO MOVEMENT

This prayer is recited at the Pro Deo Centers all over the world, and also by members who, in countries occupied by the Nazis, continue to pray and work underground. Hallowed by the sacrifice of six leaders who have died for the cause, it serves to link together in the grace of God all who carry out the task Pro Deo.

My Lord and my God, to You I come —
that I may begin my work with Your spirit,
that I may accomplish it with Your strength.

I beseech You, Lord —
forgive me all my cowardice and give me humility, courage and victory over all selfishness;
give me repugnance for every movement not towards You and loathing for all rest that is not in You;
give me that joy in You that spreads to others as a fire and burns unquenchable in the midst of difficulties and sorrows;
give me light for penetrating where men forget You and tolerance for the many who know not what they do;
give me discipline in action, with patience for small tasks and perseverance even when results are hidden in the mystery of Your plan.

Accept, O Lord —
the offering of this day and all the days of my life,
so that Your love may pass through my deeds, giving the fervor of faith to those who have not followed You with all their heart and all their mind —
and the discovery of faith to those who, even in our own country, have never come to know the gift of God. Amen.

IMPRIMATUR: Gandae (Belgio) 16 Julii 1936

C. Van Crombrughe, Vic. Gen.

Lisboa (Portugal) 21 Februarii 1941

† Gonçalves Cerejeira, Card. Patriarca

New York (United States) December 6, 1943

† Francis J. Spellman, Archbishop, New York

NIHIL OBSTAT:

Arthur J. Scanlan, S.T.D., Censor Librorum.

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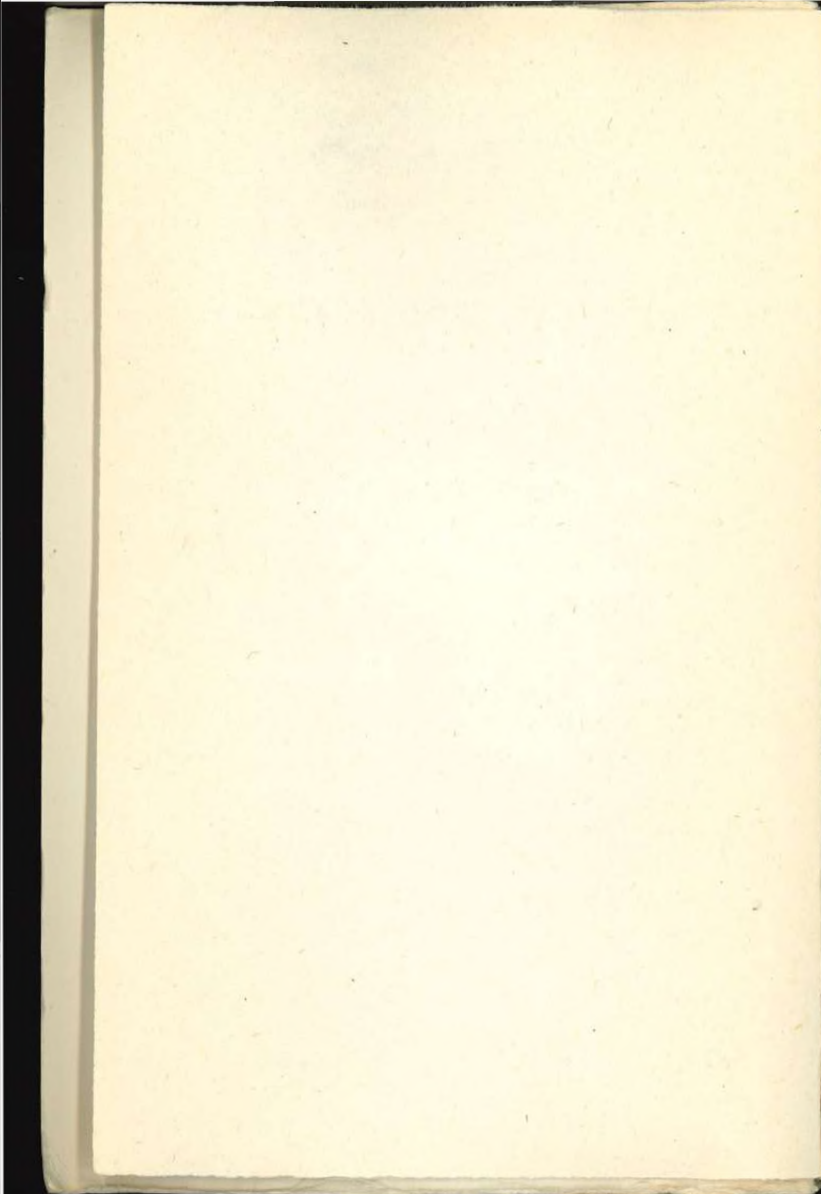
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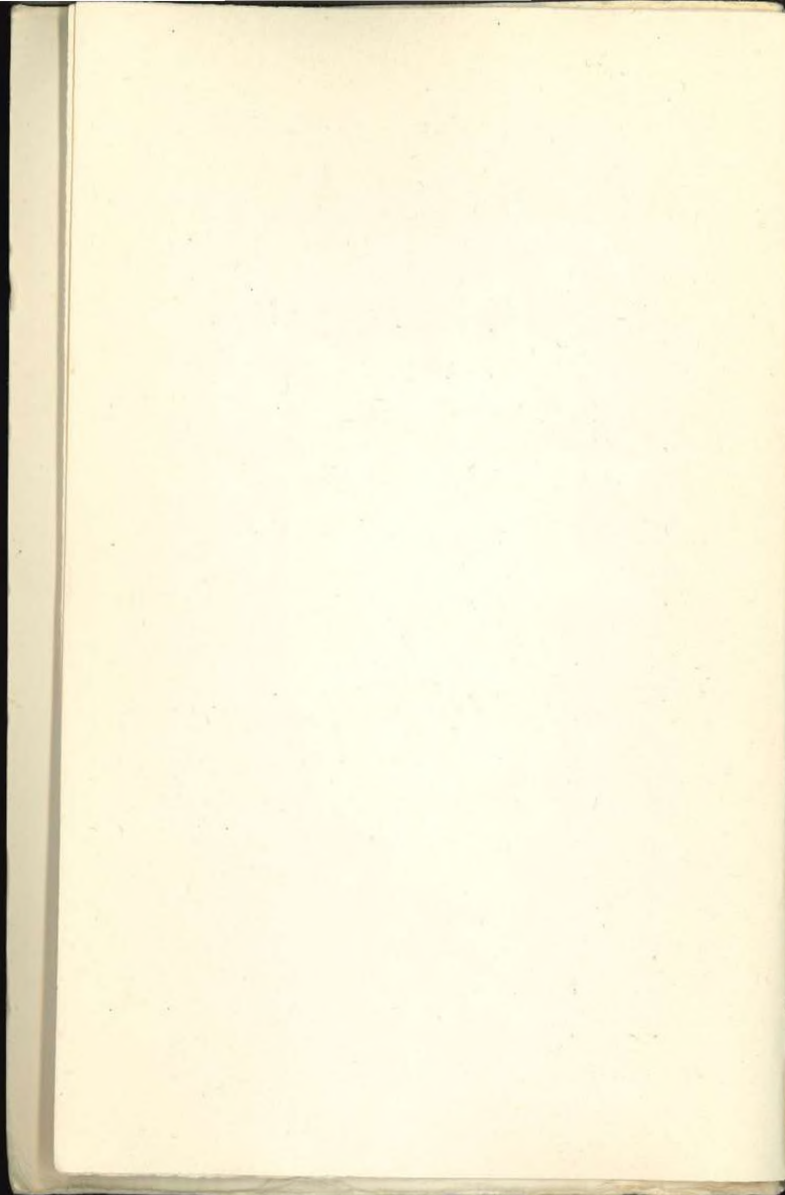
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Félix A. MORLION, O. P.

Spiritual Advisor of INTERCIP

(International Union of Centers of Information Pro Deo)

with an

INTRODUCTION

by

A. M. BRADY

Director of the American Center of Information Pro Deo



MONTREAL

Nihil obstat. Montreal, April 14, 1944.

M. A. LAMARCHE, O.P., Lecteur en théologie.

F. M. FARIBAUT, O.P., Lecteur en théologie.

Imprimi potest. Montreal, April 14, 1944.

Fr. Pius M. GAUDRAULT, O.P., Provincial.

Imprimatur. Montreal, May 3, 1944.

Philippe PERRIER, P.A., V.G.

TO THE LIVING MEMORY
OF DOCTOR HEIN HOEBEN

pioneer of the International Catholic
Press Agency,

who died in February 1942, at the hands
of Nazi torturers
in the infamous S.S. prison of Berlin,

we dedicate this book, —

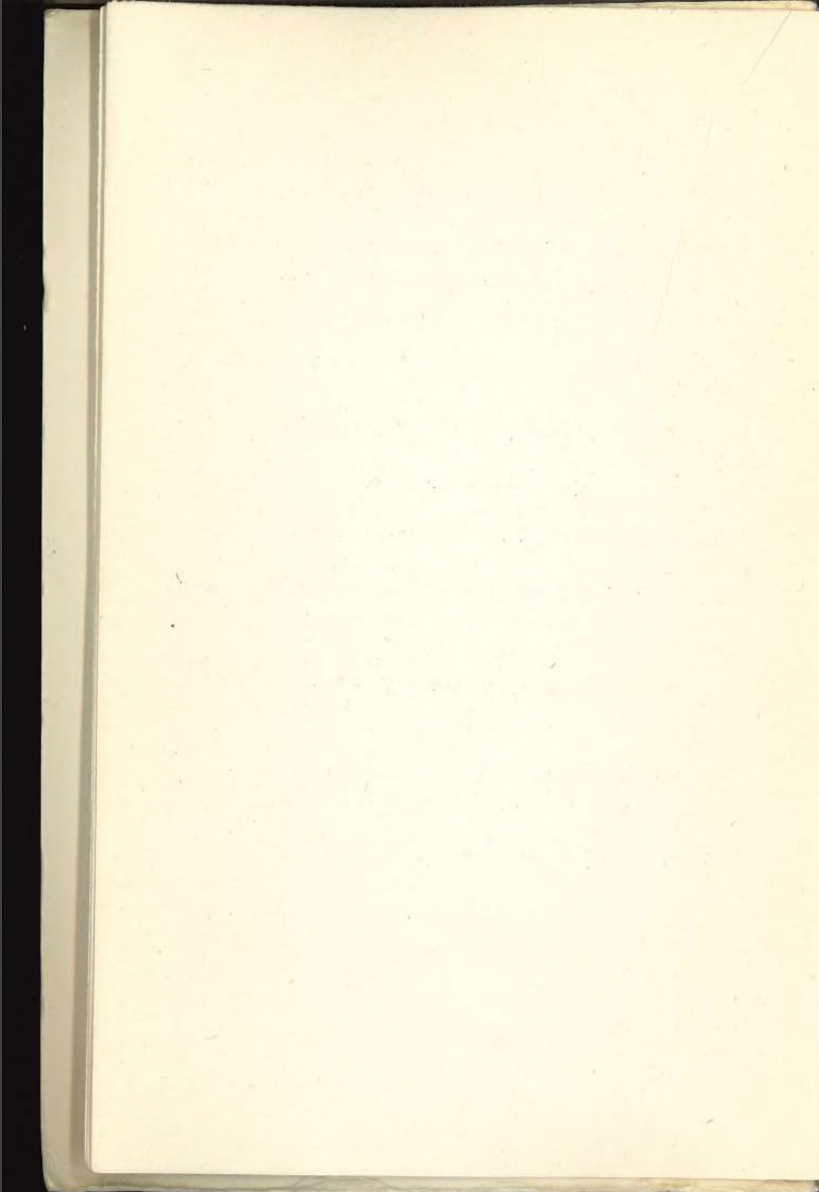
that his ideal may live in the generations to come,

that many may hear the call to the lay vocation
for the revival of a free apostolate
of public opinion

on that continent which God
“by striking healeth”,*

for the growth of Christian inspiration
in public opinion of the new world.

* Post-Communion of the Mass *Pro tempore belli*.



CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	11
--------------------	----

The History and Development of the Pro Deo Movement by A. M. BRADY, Director of the American Center of Information Pro Deo.

PART I

THE MOBILIZATION OF THE LAITY	33
I — The Call to Action	35
II — Defensive or Offensive	39
III — The Fields of the Lay Apostolate	43
1. <i>The Re-integration of Parish Life</i> ...	43
2. <i>The Transformation of the Social Milieu</i>	50
3. <i>The Penetration of Public Opinion</i> ...	53
IV — The Problems of the Public Mind	59
1. <i>The Methods of Moral Guidance</i>	59
2. <i>The Methods of Direct Expression</i> ...	65
3. <i>The Methods of Indirect Approach</i> ...	68

PART II

THE TECHNIQUES PRO DEO	73
V — The Interpretation of News	75
1. <i>A Network of Information</i>	78
2. <i>A Technique of Interpretation</i>	82
3. <i>News as an Antidote</i>	86
4. <i>News as a Seed</i>	92
VI — The Inspiration of the Story	97
1. <i>The Human Interest Story</i>	98
2. <i>Fiction and Illustration</i>	106
3. <i>The Inspirational Film Analysis</i>	111

VII — The Dialectics of the Topical Question	123
1. <i>The Dialectics of the Article</i>	133
2. <i>The Dialectics of the Forum</i>	138
3. <i>The Dialectics of the Study Course</i>	145
VIII — The Cultivation of Tradition	149
1. <i>The Birth of a Tradition</i>	150
2. <i>The Patterns of Tradition</i>	158
3. <i>The New Growth of Tradition</i>	162
IX — The Exploitation of the Popular Theme	167
1. <i>The Method of Transfiguration</i>	169
2. <i>The Method of Deflation</i>	174
3. <i>The Method of Facilitation</i>	176
X — The Techniques of Coordination	179
1. <i>The Law of Repetition</i>	181
2. <i>The Law of Variation</i>	182
3. <i>The Law of Amplification</i>	183

PART III

THE ADVANCE GUARD PRO DEO	187
XI — The Centers of Action	189
1. <i>The Fields of Inquiry</i>	193
2. <i>The Fields of Study</i>	196
3. <i>The Fields of Action</i>	199
4. <i>The Primacy of Spiritual Life</i>	201
5. <i>The Seminaries of the Laity</i>	204
XII — The Action of the Spirit	207

APPENDICES

I — The Constitution of INTERCIP	213
II — In Memoriam: <i>Doctor Hein Hoeben</i>	221
III — The Nazis and the Catholic Press Center of Brussels	225
IV — Goebbels' "Catholic" Press Service	229

INTRODUCTION

If the apostolate of public opinion described by Father Morlion in this book were only a reiteration of what ought to be done, without clearly showing the way to do it, this introduction would never have been written. However, since June 1941 when the author first explained to this writer the principles and methods presented here, their application has given proof of their efficacy. For how what ought to be done can be accomplished has been proved in the work of the CENTER OF INFORMATION PRO DEO (CIP) which is founded on the principles laid down in this volume by Father Morlion. While these constitute only a part of what is envisaged, the CIP services now comprise: *CIP Correspondence* (bi-weekly news-letter dedicated to the clarification of spiritual issues in current events); *CIP Documentation Service* (weekly bulletin of condensed news items); *CIP Forum* (studies and discussions dedicated to the clarification of the fundamentals of democracy); and the *CIP Course in Politics: Philosophy and Practice* (dedicated to the clarification of the Catholic philosophy of State) — all services for leaders of public opinion; and, as means for reaching the masses, the *CIP Daily Press Releases*, the CIP weekly syndicated column (*Undercurrents*) and CIP special articles, all of which are based on news reports from CIP's correspondents in Europe and the Americas.

But the proof of the pudding is in its eating.

And the formula *Pro Deo* is finding wider and wider acceptance in the circles which create public opinion. In the United States these are mainly non-Catholic, and recognition of the need for introducing in these circles a more thorough comprehension of Catholic ideas is keen on the part of Catholic editors who complain: "If only non-Catholics would read Catholic papers, there would be better understanding of principles and how they should be applied." On the whole, however, Catholics have been inclined to overlook an important point: Catholic papers are written for a particular public, so that material in them is treated in a particular way. In just this same way a medical journal presents a doctor's findings in highly technical terms. But the same story for publication in an ordinary magazine must be written in a very different manner and at the same time retain all the essential points.

This is not easy to do in any specialized field, but Father Morlion has shown how it can be done in the realm of Catholic ideas. For the *Pro Deo* methods make it possible to introduce religion into public opinion by discussing current news and topics of the day using ordinary terminology yet unobtrusively showing how spiritual issues are involved in those matters.

MARKS OF APPRECIATION OF THE TECHNIQUES *PRO DEO*

Some of the signs of appreciation for what has been accomplished by CIP up to the present time are particularly worthy of mention. For

instance, the editor-in-chief of a famous daily newspaper has tested the authenticity of our releases when we have scooped the established press agencies through querying his foreign correspondent on the basis of CIP's releases. The fact that he published his correspondents' confirmations shows not only the authenticity of the news itself but its timeliness. Other secular editors, having read CIP's condensed services, frequently telephone for fuller details and further background information. This has proved to CIP that, for the most part, editors of secular publications do not have bad will towards the Church but are kept from understanding things Catholic through lack of information... or a supply of misinformation. The latter is by far the more difficult to overcome, yet this writer has known a national weekly to change a story because CIP was able to convince the editor that his conclusions had been based on misinformation. The problem is how to reach these men of goodwill so as to have opportunity of balancing the scales now overweighed by erroneous reports and, more pernicious, those containing half-truths.

One way that CIP has been able to do this is revealed by a remark made to this writer by the non-Catholic Director of a nation-wide radio program: "What I particularly like about CIP is that it indicates trends often as much as six months ahead of the general press." From the Catholic side, confirmation of CIP's dependability in its interpretation of events has come from, among others, an Archbishop and a Bishop in speaking

about CIP's releases on Russia, to mention only one concrete example.

For its news work CIP has its own staff, but in other fields it asks the collaboration of outside authorities. Just what these activities are and how they are being developed will be treated later, but their value may be indicated here in recording that such men as Jacques Maritain, Sir Bernard Pares and Paul van Zeeland, are among those cooperating.

Because the CIP practice is so indissolubly united to the principles expounded in Father Morlion's book, an indication of the result growing out of the author's work seemed to this writer the best way of introducing it. For more than two years this writer has been urging Father Morlion to put into book form the lessons he has given the CIP staffs in Lisbon, New York and elsewhere. Now that experience has justified the techniques presented in the *APOSTOLATE OF PUBLIC OPINION*, he has consented to explain them, as well as their place among other forms of the lay apostolate.

EUROPEAN PIONEERS IN THE APOSTOLATE OF PUBLIC OPINION

To fully understand the growth and development of the apostolate of public opinion it is necessary to know something of its European background. For this not only the CIP archives, brought here in 1941, but also persons familiar with the press, film, radio and Pro Deo activities in Europe prior to the war have been consulted.

As this book will reveal, the work of the Center

of Information Pro Deo is indissolubly bound up with the person of Father Morlion. His dynamism has given force to the Pro Deo Movement and made it an actuality in the face of what seemed insuperable obstacles. He is a Belgian Dominican whose life has been one battle after another to bring into the everyday life of man the basic religious principles which often become obscured by the swift movement of modern life.

A talented writer who became well-known through his weekly column in the leading Flemish Catholic paper *De Standaard*, Father Morlion soon recognized that his principal work lay in the training of others. Among his prolific writings, the best known are pamphlets: *Film Guidance*, *Offensive for God*, and *Liberty in Practice*, which led the way to the later development of a technique for the carrying out of the modern apostolate of press and propaganda.

Father Morlion's first organizational work was the foundation, in 1930, of the "Offensive for God" movement in Belgium. This combined anti-Communist and anti-Nazi activities with a program of positive religious teaching. He also devoted much time to giving instructions in press, film and propaganda techniques at Catholic Action schools in Brussels and Roeselaere, and at the Louvain School of Social Service. His first practical application of these ideas was in 1931 when he founded DOCIP (*Documentation Cinématographique de la Presse*), a press service specializing in film topics. This service worked in conjunction with the O.C.I.C. (*Office Catholique International du Cinéma*) whose main office had been established in

Brussels in 1933. By 1939, when the O.C.I.C. had affiliations in eighteen countries, DOCIP had become accepted as the recognized press service for film news and features.

Broadening the field of penetration of religious ideas into public life, Father Morlion followed the film initiative by the establishment of the Catholic Press Center in 1934 and the Catholic Center of Promotion in 1937.

Simultaneously, a Catholic press agency was developing in the Netherlands under the directorship of Dr. Hein Hoeben at Breda. Appointed General Secretary of the *Comité Permanent des directeurs de journaux catholiques* (CP) at the Vatican Press Conference in September 1936, Dr. Hoeben was unable to bring to realization the commission given him to establish an international press service until the following year when he entered into an agreement with the Press Center at Brussels. Through the pooling of the two staffs, the Breda-Brussels coalition developed with amazing swiftness so that, by the outbreak of the war, it was servicing 1,500 papers in 30 countries (through intermediary agencies in 6 of them). The Breda office issued the basic service in a German edition which was used in 7 countries. The Brussels Catholic Press Center prepared and financed the French edition which was used in 23 countries. Because of its dissemination of authoritative information on Nazi Germany (received through uncensored channels) the service aroused the ire of Goebbels and the Gestapo which had muzzled and then suppressed the Catholic press agency in Germany after the Nazis took power in 1933 and attempted to do the same with every

Catholic press agency that came under its domination.

The invasions and ruthless oppressions of the Nazis, however, were not to succeed in wrecking completely the services which had been built up so laboriously. In an emergency meeting in Antwerp on the 12th of May, two days after Holland and Belgium were invaded, Father Morlion and Dr. Hoeben decided to carry on their work from a new Center in a free country. Aided by a partial Belgian staff, Father Morlion managed to continue the press service from Poitiers, France, starting the 20th of May. On June 6th, Dr. Hoeben wrote from Paris to Father Morlion that he "had tried to reconstitute the CP in France but that the difficulties of the hour were too numerous . . . We will thus centralize the issuing of the service in your hands. . .". It was shortly after this that Dr. Hoeben was trapped by the Nazis, placed first in a concentration camp and then in the infamous S.S. prison of Berlin where he died of ill-treatment in February 1942 (for further details, see Appendices II, III and IV). When France capitulated, it seemed all their work must collapse with it.

THE CENTER OF INFORMATION PRO DEO IS FOUNDED

Fortunately, however, Father Morlion managed to escape to Portugal where Cardinal Gonçalves Cerejeira, Patriarch of Lisbon, asked him to start a news Center and to train a staff according to the techniques he had developed. But as the continuity

of the CP services was broken, a whole new system had to be established. Drawing upon his years of experience and using the part of the pre-war network which Hitler had not succeeded in destroying, he united (July 1940) in one organization the techniques of news presentation and the techniques of the Pro Deo Movement. The name "CENTER OF INFORMATION PRO DEO" (CIP) was chosen to connote that the work of information is dedicated to the positive furthering of the re-establishment of God in public life.

Gradually new sources of information were added to the remnant of the pre-war network, and international distribution was begun as news releases were sent to North America, England and several Latin-American countries. Again the shadow of Hitler interrupted Father Morlion's work. The threats of invasion became so grave in May 1941 that, upon the insistence of the Cardinal Patriarch and of the Portuguese Vicar Provincial of his Order, he left Portugal, carrying the assurance that the lay collaborators, who were unknown to the Gestapo, would carry on the Center there as a clearing house for the network gathering information.

CIP COMES TO AMERICA

In June Father Morlion arrived in the United States. It was then that my husband, Frank Brady, and I first met him through mutual friends who believed that our interest in modern forms of apostolic work would prove a common bond. We had been deeply impressed with what we had read

of Father Morlion's work in Europe. When he explained in detail the policies and organizational principles of Pro Deo, we felt we had found the answer to something we had long been seeking. My own background and non-Catholic education had taught me that many men of goodwill have not found the way to the Catholic Church because of supposed obstacles. Our experiences at the Catholic publishing house of Sheed & Ward as well as at Friendship House with Baroness de Hueck had made us both appreciate the tremendous work now being carried on by the Catholic laity to bring about a better understanding and deeper appreciation of the Catholic faith. It was, however, our experiences as speakers for the Catholic Evidence Guilds of Baltimore and New York that brought us to understand the grave necessity for finding a common meeting ground with those others "not of my fold". It is not in the field of dogma that first objections are made against the Church but in other spheres of life: social work, business ethics and political philosophy. We found that our experiences with the man on the street paralleled those of Father Morlion. He had found the answer: "News", said Father Morlion, "is a common denominator by which to gain the attention of every one. And what we must do is show the spiritual issues which underlie the news."

Following several discussions, Father Morlion asked us to join some other friends at a Mass he was celebrating July 1st at Holy Name Church for the intentions of those who had shown active interest in the Pro Deo Movement. Later that day, with that certainty which is characteristic of him,

Father Morlion drew the conclusion from his appealing sermon on the vocation of the laity which he had preached during Mass, by telling us: "The foundation of an American Pro Deo Center is the work God is calling you for." Immediately I protested that I was not a newspaper woman, and my husband joined in saying that a training in apologetics was not precisely a preparation for undertaking the establishment of a Center using current events as the means of apostolate. But Father Morlion persisted, telling us that he had always found that ideological training, coupled with a practical knowledge of the problems of the secular mind, made a better foundation for apostolic journalism than ordinary experience in news-gathering and dispatch-writing. He said that the development of the American Center was a task for laymen, just as the Breda and Brussels Centers, the other agencies subsequently developed, and also the new CIP foundation of Lisbon, were the responsibility of laymen. The stress laid on the principle of lay leadership in press apostolate is characteristic of the activities promoted by Father Morlion. He makes laymen understand that, living in the midst of secular concerns, they have special opportunities to approach the indifferent who must be won back to practical Christianity. He also stresses that laymen are especially called for apostolic work of this sort — a work by its nature treating so many matters in which the responsibility of the Church should not be involved. Father Morlion finally convinced us to the point where we said that we would make an experiment. He was scheduled to leave at the beginning of July for Latin America to

check the use of CIP materials by a Brazilian agency and elsewhere, as well as to make new contacts. We promised we would use, while he was away, the techniques he had been explaining, would adapt the materials to the American mind and test reactions. Our final decision would be based on the result.

Father Morlion then left for Latin America where he visited Uruguay, Argentina, Peru, Brazil, Chile, Colombia and Mexico. He found in these countries enthusiasm for the modern techniques of the apostolate of public opinion. The achievements of the international Centers of film, press and radio established in Belgium were well-known there as many Catholic leaders of Latin America had visited them.

During his absence, we sent up a Pro Deo trial balloon in the form of an introductory bulletin containing news received from Lisbon. After only three had been sent out we had received a spontaneous response from 22% of our list. We knew then that Father Morlion had been right: the CIP materials combined with the training in Pro Deo techniques would make up for our personal deficiencies during the initial period. When Father Morlion returned at the end of October, we told him we had been convinced and were ready to go ahead with the foundation of CIP here. My husband would have brought to the work his exceptional qualities of a lay theologian, proved in his training courses and lectures for the Evidence Guild. Providence decided otherwise. He became ill when CIP had barely started, and offered, more valuable than work, his suffering and death for Pro Deo. There

has been solace and encouragement in knowing that he is still standing behind the work and the American CIP has now its own representative at the Court of Heaven.

CIP GETS UNDER WAY

A wise adviser of CIP from the very beginning has been Mr. Thomas J. Woodlock, author of *Catholic Pattern* and contributing editor of the *Wall Street Journal*, who has generously given us the benefit of his long journalistic and apostolic experience. The American Center is also deeply indebted to Mr. Joseph P. Grace, Mr. John B. Moody, Mr. Martin J. Quigley, Mr. Michael Morrissey and others who participated in the first advisory meetings and helped in various ways getting CIP started.

Particular thanks belong also to Major the Reverend Peter Mommersteeg, former Chaplain of Catholic labor organizations in Holland, now serving as Chaplain to the Netherlands Army and Marines in this country, whose advice and counsels have proved invaluable. A close friend of Dr. Hoeben, Father Mommersteeg has been most sympathetic and helpful in promoting CIP's development here.

It was on the advice of Mr. Woodlock that, instead of starting its work by issuing releases direct to newspapers, CIP inaugurated the *CIP Correspondence*, a subscription news-letter issued bi-weekly. Severely chosen news from its exclusive sources of information presented in condensed form soon justified its slogan : "News worth remember-

ing." But the method of sharply-outlined and logical interpretation, manifested mainly in the *Nutshell* and the *CIP Question Box*, was the fundamental reason why writers from all circles soon heralded this publication as serving (to quote Elmer Davis) "a purpose extremely useful to the best interests of both Church and State". In less than six months the *CIP Correspondence* had attracted the attention of persons wielding a large influence, among them : Robert Allen, William Agar, Barry Byrne, Mother Grace Dammann, Elmer Davis, Frank P. Fenton, George Field, Monsignor Edward A. Freking, Rev. James Gillis, C.S.P., Samuel Grafton, William Hard, Quincey Howe, Max Jordan, H. V. Kaltenborn, Arthur Krock, Rev. John La Farge, S.J., Walter Lippmann, Rev. John J. McClafferty, Prof. Francis McMahon, Harry Mann, Rev. Urban Nagle, O.P., Fletcher Pratt, Rev. Hugh Radigan, O.F.M., Rev. William Russell, Monsignor Fulton J. Sheen, Herbert Bayard Swope, Dorothy Thompson, Rev. J. A. Vaughan, S.J. The solid character of its interpretation is attested by the fact that more than twenty Archbishops and Bishops subscribe to the *Correspondence*. Bishop Gannon, then Chairman of the Press Department of the Bishops' Conference, was one of the first to write us, commending the new enterprise as a work which could be of great spiritual benefit. When he visited the office on the 5th of August 1943, he expressed his satisfaction with its growth.

The *CIP Forum* was the second service started by Pro Deo. These studies grew out of the "Special Issues" which were an added feature of the *CIP*

Correspondence during its first year. In particular the last two, *The American Tradition* and *The Touchstone of American Democracy*, elicited an exceptional demand for supplementary copies that increased when they were reprinted in the *Catholic Digest* and *Interracial Review*. By March 1943 CIP had developed its study section into an International Research Bureau dedicated to the clarification of the fundamentals of democracy. Based on round-table discussions and consultations with specialists, provisory conclusions regarding the traditions of various countries are published in the *CIP Forum*. These materials have also been used as the foundation for CIP Forum discussions on the problems of Germany, Italy, America, France, China and Russia. First tried in New York, the same materials have been used to develop constructive discussions at Forums conducted by the Holy Name Society of New Orleans, the Catholic Women's Club and the Town Hall Forum of Los Angeles, and the Washington Catholic Library, Washington, D.C. These activities, which gradually evolved a comprehensive pattern of democracy, are creating wide interest not only in prominent Catholic, but also non-Catholic circles.

Mr. Paul Anderson, Hon. Adolph A. Berle, Jr., Prof. Goetz Briefs, Mr. Lauren Carroll, Hon. Frans van Cauwelaert, Mr. F. R. Coudert, Sr., Count Czernin, Rev. J. V. Ducatillon, O.P., Prof. Mario Einaudi, Dr. F. W. Foerster, Rev. Francis Gabrovsek, Prof. Max Gottschalk, Prof. Waldemar Gurian, Prof. Oscar Halecki, Miss Beatrice Hyslop, Miss Helen Iswolsky, Mr. Paul Jacob, Prof. B. Mirkine-Guetzevitch, Mr. Emil Ludwig, Prof. Jac-

ques Maritain, Rev. F. X. Moorehouse Millar, S.J., Mrs. Charlotte Muret, Rev. Peter J. Mommersteeg, Sir Bernard Pares, Rev. Wilfred Parsons, S.J., Rev. P.E. de Rooy, O.P., Mr. Oscar Schnabel, Dr. K. C. Sheldon, Count Sforza, Don Luigi Sturzo, Prof. N. S. Timasheff, Prof. Rustern Vambery, Prof. Paul Vignaux, Prof. William White, Dr. Thomas F. Woodlock, Prof. Paul van Zeeland, Dr. Yang and Bishop Paul Yu-Pin, are among those who have already actively participated in the CIP Forum work.

As was inevitable, the study of the ideology of democracy demonstrated the need for a systematic exposé of the nature and aims of the State and of the principles which underlie good government. In December 1943 CIP started, under the auspices of the St. Paul's Guild, New York, the *CIP Course on Politics: Philosophy and Practice*. This consisted of lessons in Catholic philosophy of State by the Reverend Paul E. de Rooy, O.P. (a leading Thomist authority on this subject who for twenty years taught political philosophy at the Angelicum in Rome), and lectures giving practical applications of the principles. These applications to particular problems of different nations were given by: Dr. Otto Bird, Dean Harry Carman, Dr. Oscar Halecki, Rev. John B. Kao, O.F.M., Prof. A. Mendizabal, Rev. F. X. Moorehouse Millar, S. J., Rev. Peter Mommersteeg, Dr. Wilhelm Solzbacher, Prof. Paul Vignaux, Prof. Dietrich von Hildebrand, Mr. Robert Wilberforce and this writer. The response to the *Course* was such that CIP has made the material of Father de Rooy's lectures available for other groups.

During this time the supply of news from CIP correspondents in Europe and Latin America was steadily augmenting. To the material coming through the clearing house in Lisbon new sources were added by correspondents living in England, Sweden and Switzerland. With the increase of information, it was possible to develop additional news and feature services. As early as February 1942 CIP was asked to make scripts to be short-waved to Catholics in Germany, and soon there was a demand for an increased supply of radio scripts in several languages. Special articles and studies were also made for various publications and organizations. In September 1943 a weekly syndicated column was started. Called *Undercurrents*, it highlights important trends and includes contributions by such prominent specialists as Bishop Vesters, S.V.D., Don Luigi Sturzo and Jacques Maritain. Early this year the *CIP Daily Press Service*, designed for secular papers, was inaugurated. The *Service* comprises short reports which reflect spiritual issues. Its purpose is to provide, through an interpretation from the Catholic point of view, news editors and editorial writers with a better understanding of certain situations. For readers wishing a wider coverage of news than can be given in the bi-weekly condensed service, *CIP Correspondence*, a weekly batch of reports, *CIP Documentation Service*, was also inaugurated early this year.

As this first CIP book goes to press, the staff is working on the materials for CIP's new venture, *International Outlook* — a series of books treating the traditions and fundamental problems of various

countries according to the pattern worked out in the *CIP Forum*. The first four, dealing with America, Germany, France and the small democracies of Europe (Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries) are scheduled for publication in both French and English during the coming winter.

For the development of the regional and local Centers of Action Pro Deo, the activities of which are described in the Constitution of INTERCIP (see Appendix I), a course in the *Methodology Pro Deo* has been prepared which can be used also in high schools and colleges.

An important feature in the progress of the CIP apostolate has been the development of our staff. The zeal and devotion of those associated with this work are, in large measure, responsible for its success, and while few in number, have proved a legion in accomplishment.

But before speaking of our present staff mention should be made of the first three who worked with CIP. Charles B. Friediger, who had served as Secretary of the International Center in Lisbon where he developed "underground" European sources of information, came to New York in June 1941 and helped start the American Center. Austrian by birth, he is now an American citizen serving with the U.S. Army. Dr. John J. O'Connor, Professor of History at St. John's University and author of *Catholic Revival in England*, helped start the *CIP Correspondence*. He is now editor of *Ordnance*, publication of the Public Relations Section of the War Department. Count Francis Trautmannsdorff came with CIP in July 1942, staying

until he also received the call of Uncle Sam. Latest news indicates that he is now with the invasion troops somewhere in Europe.

A wide variety of talent and experience is represented by the present permanent staff of CIP. Dr. Wilhelm Solzbacher, having succeeded in escaping from France in 1941, joined the CIP staff as Research Secretary in the latter part of 1942. German-born, he has had broad experience of 18 years' journalistic work not only in his own country but all over Europe, since 1933 mainly in France and Belgium. He is the author of a book on the attitude of the Papacy towards Nazism, Communism and Fascism which has been translated into several languages. For the last two years prior to the war he was a collaborator of the International Press Agency CP and was deprived, in 1939, of his citizenship by decree of Hitler. Dr. Otto Bird is Editorial Secretary of CIP. He studied Thomistic philosophy under Gilson at the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Toronto, and, after teaching at St. Michael's College there, was Professor of Philosophy at St. John's University, Brooklyn, when he came to CIP. Miss Margaret McCormack, graduate of Manhattanville College, whose poetry has been widely published and who writes a monthly column for the *Interracial Review*, is a staff writer. Miss Mabel Taylor, an American born in Panama, is in charge of the subscription department and of office administration.

From the beginning CIP has availed itself at the New York office of the generous collaboration of volunteer and part-time workers. Our especial thanks go to Mrs. Edmond Esquerre, Miss Mar-

garet Stern, Mlle Marietta Gehin, Mlles Elaine and Sabine Perrot, Mrs. Elizabeth Dewart (whose death in February was a great loss to the lay apostolate), Miss Mary Bernadette Tuohy, Mrs. Teresa Wieck, Mr. Jose Nieves, Mr. Vincent Naughton and Miss Dorothy Hume, as well as other students from Manhattanville College.

For the rest, CIP is founded as a non-profit organization devoted exclusively to religious and educational purposes. It has been officially declared tax-exempt by both New York State and the Federal Internal Revenue Department. The answer to the question "How is CIP supported?" probably differs little from that of similar organizations. The staff works hard for it and has found friends to contribute towards it. All CIP services are issued on a paid subscription basis and news services are started only when existing ones have created a need and a market for them. In addition we write radio scripts in various languages and sublet office space. And more and more readers, including Archbishops and Bishops, have become friends who generously take promoting subscriptions and make outright donations contributing materially to CIP's development both here and elsewhere.

CIP IN CANADA AND IN LATIN AMERICA

The Pro Deo Movement has not been confined to the United States. Cardinal Cerejeira's recommendation to Father Morlion for a continuation and broadening of the Pro Deo apostolate is finding an equally eager answer in other countries of this

hemisphere: "Intensely convinced that the union of all Catholic, and even of all religious efforts, in the propaganda movement 'Action for God' is necessary to save civilization, we hope that the great nations of the New World will be able to develop, with the help of specialists, a powerful institute for the spiritual revival of public opinion." Although on his trip, July-October 1941, Father Morlion found great sympathy for the CIP work of Lisbon among the Catholic leaders of the Latin-American countries visited, the possibility of invasion and of an increase in Gestapo activities made it impossible to use Lisbon as administrative Center for INTERCIP. New York was found to be the most convenient Center for coordinating CIP activities, so that the responsibilities of Treasurer and acting International Director, in accordance with the Statutes of INTERCIP, were accepted by this writer until such time as the International Center could be properly re-established in Europe.

The second national Center formally established was the Canadian. Mr. A. Beaudet is National Secretary and the Reverend Edward Daviau, O.P., Spiritual Adviser. This Center, 88 Empress Avenue, Ottawa, issues in French the *Daily Press Service* as well as the *CIP Correspondence and Documentation Service*. Regional Centers of Action have been set up in Montreal and Quebec with Mr. B. Baril and Mr. L. Fontaine as their respective Secretaries. Groups in Toronto and Windsor have also shown great interest in the Pro Deo activities, and the steady increase in contacts all over the country is proving that the zeal of the Canadian pioneers will not easily be surpassed. Six Canadian collaborators

were among those attending the first 3-day conference in June at the New York office.

Although before the war CP releases, and during the war CIP materials, have been reprinted more or less regularly in Latin America, the Center in Montevideo, started this year, is the first formal CIP Center publishing in the Spanish language. It is being developed by Mr. Cornelio G. H. van Luyt, Mr. Miguel Páez Villarô, Mr. Jan M. Pauwels, Dr. Dardo Regules, D. Juan Vicente Chiarvino and Mr. Leonard Steverlynck, with the Reverend Pedro Goicoechea as Spiritual Adviser. A Mexican Center has also been started through the zeal of Mr. Roberto Carriedo Rosales.

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE

Up until now Father Morlion has acted as Spiritual Adviser for the American Center as well as for the International Center, in fulfillment of a promise when it was founded. For only on condition that he remain here long enough to thoroughly train our staff would I consent to undertake so important a task. Now two American Dominicans are our Spiritual Advisers: the Reverend Urban Nagle and the Reverend James Egan. Father Nagle's experience in the apostolate of public opinion covers the three fields of theatre, press and radio. He is the founder of Blackfriars, editor of *The Holy Name Journal*, and speaker on the nation-wide "Hour of Faith" series. Father Egan is Acting Regent of Studies and Professor of moral and aesthetical theology at the Dominican

College in Washington, as well as one of the editors of *The Thomist*.

As I write this, Father Morlion is on his way back to Europe to reconstitute the Pro Deo work there. The brutalizing forces of Nazism will leave deep scars and only constant applications of Christian principles will heal them. In this book Father Morlion shows how in the field of public opinion men of goodwill can avoid again coming too late with too little.

Anna M. BRADY

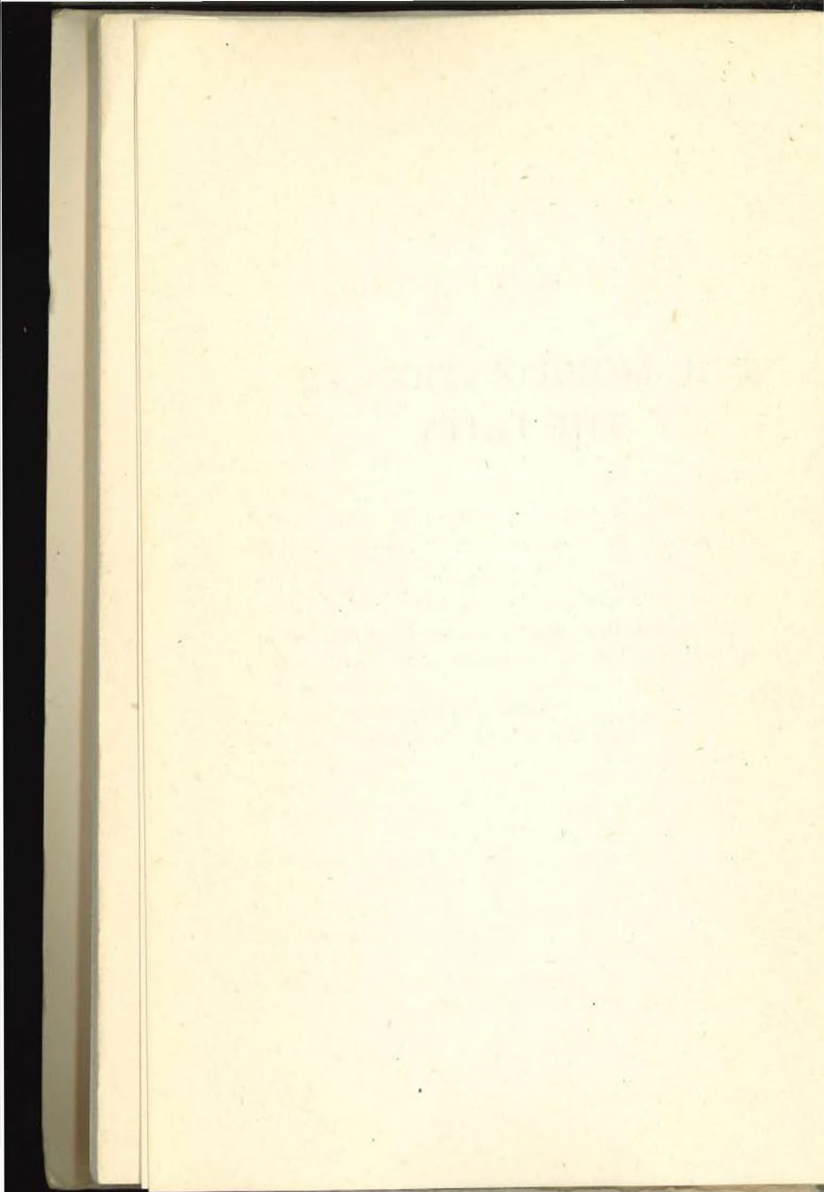
The Feast of the Assumption,
New York, 1944.

PART I

THE MOBILIZATION OF THE LAITY

"Either for God or against God — that is once more the point at issue, and upon it hangs the fate of the world. For in every department of life, in politics and economics, in the sciences and the arts, in the state and in domestic life, in the East and in the West, everywhere the same issue arises."

(From the Encyclical
Caritate Christi compulsi, 1932)



CHAPTER I

THE CALL TO ACTION

Don Quixote was a most enthusiastic reader of books which were full of generous actions. He was quickly influenced by the ideals presented and easily inspired to apply these ideals to daring undertakings. But he had one fault: he did not trouble to make distinctions. Before charging with the full impetus of spear, armor and body, he did not wait to make certain whether, what at first seemed an evil monster, was not perhaps a harmless windmill. Consequently, he broke his spear, his armor and many bones of his body.

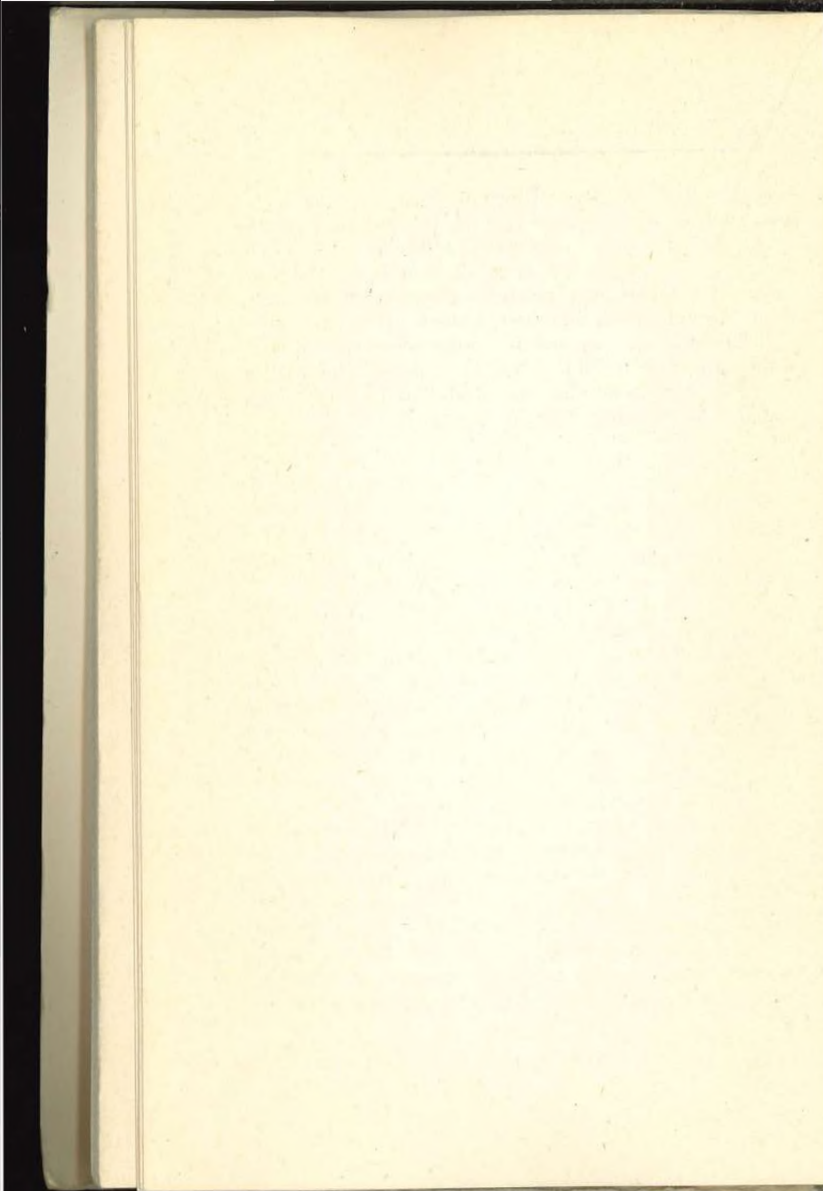
This book has not been written for the numerous Don Quixotes of our time who still have bones to break. One would not like to be responsible for some new form of apostolate which would last only so long as the fresh spears of enthusiasm have not clashed against the hard walls of reality. For this reason a considerable part of this book is devoted to psychological analysis of present day realities and to the breakdown of illusions.

This descent from idealistic visions to the comprehension of reality is the only way to find the techniques for lifting reality to the level of our ideals. After sketching the fields of the lay apostolate, the main part of this book will be devoted to the description of precise techniques. The intention is not to present the work of Pro Deo as an abstract

methodology, but to illustrate it with stories which demonstrate the Pro Deo application of principles. Perhaps it will sometimes appear to the reader that too great importance is given to the apostolic achievements of a small country — this writer's native Belgium. Yet the Hierarchy of most countries throughout the world sent their leaders of Catholic Action to study modern methods and applications of the lay apostolate in Belgian Centers because they knew that the spiritual importance of Belgium was not small. It often happens that small nations which are not weighed down with great possessions are less restricted in the development of human and religious experiences. As a matter of fact, if our archives (hidden underground in iron cases safe from the "Geheime Feldpolizei" — Military Gestapo — occupying the Film and Press Center at Brussels) were available, there might well be many interesting additions to these Belgian stories. But, although the Catholic Action methods first evolved in the old world should not be forgotten, we have recognized, after three years of work in the United States, that the business-like spirit of America is needed to gear the ideological and cultural achievements of Europe to complete efficiency. The apostolate of public opinion will either be international or it will be ineffective. For that reason there has been no hesitancy in drawing general conclusions from the particular apostolate in different continents.

Finally, this book is presented not as a blueprint but as a seed. A seed is not big, it is not even well-formed or beautiful. But it has one great asset: it has the power to grow.

Its growth is often different than expected, but it grows. It sometimes grows later than planned and has to overcome many obstacles — yet it grows. In reading these fundamentals of the Pro Deo Movement, the reader will see that the seed has known uprooting and transplanting, and that it has not yet reached its proper growth. But if the objective of this book is realized, the reader will be convinced that the seed Pro Deo is living, that it is growing, that it *must* grow.



CHAPTER II

DEFENSIVE OR OFFENSIVE

There are still many Christians who think they must live in some spiritual stronghold in which they have to defend the faithful few against the rest of the world. There are still too many specialists in lamentation who think the Christian attitude is best expressed by a litany of complaints about the bad, bad world. They like to talk about the good old times when everything was orderly and peaceful, and feel themselves back in the "good old Middle Ages" when they go to church. They repeat that modern habits of thought are "pagan", that press, radio and film are perverted, that governments are Godless, that politicians are not to be trusted, etc., etc. They conclude that the only thing to do is to shut their eyes, to stop their ears and to wait quietly and devoutly in some well-protected corner till the Church, which is eternal, regains its former position by some miraculous change.

It is time, now or never, to see the devastating dangers of this purely defensive attitude. In the first place, it is a form of intellectual laziness. The world is not so bad; the world is now, as always, a mixture of good and bad, intimately connected. The Christian attitude must be, not one of absolute condemnation, but one of objective appreciation, making a clear distinction between the good and

bad aspects to be found in every human reality. A slogan of St. Paul is the wise rule : examine everything and keep and develop everywhere what is good. The Church, by its very nature, demands the practice of the policy of presence for, according to the Gospel, every good thought and every good action comes from the Holy Ghost, and where the promptings of the Spirit are found, there the Christian must take the attitude of "cooperator of God", he must help the Spirit to triumph in man.

In the second place, spiritual isolation is a form of hypocrisy. The all-too-virtuous critics of the world are apt to be not so virtuous after all. Their devastating criticism of their neighbor is likely to be inspired by a hidden desire of praise for themselves. He who declares too often that the world is bad, actually expects the answer: "You at least belong to those who are good."

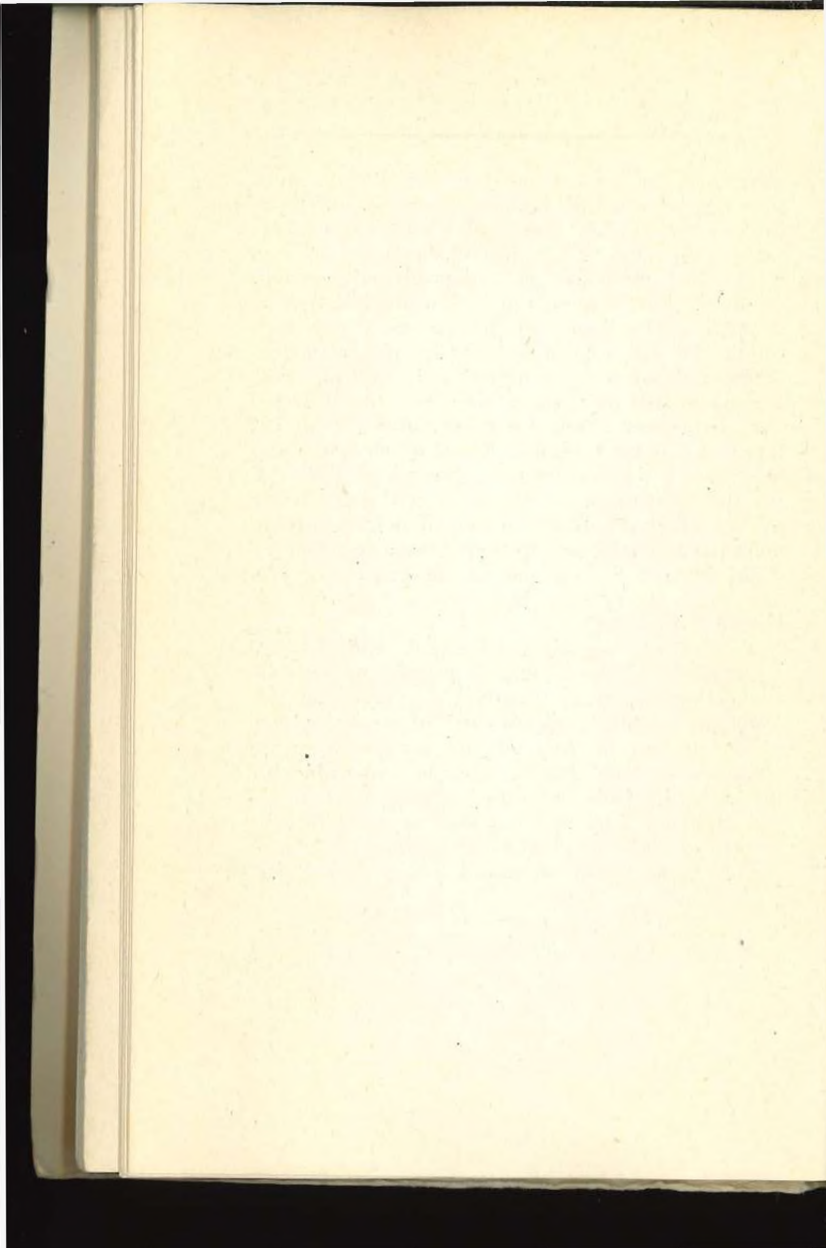
In the third place, the defensive complex is a negation of the essential law of Christian love. We are not members of a sitting, sleeping, snoring Church of Christ, but are called to be, by Baptism and Confirmation, soldiers of the marching, militant, conquering Church.

It is because of the defensive attitudes of Catholics that the Church has been losing battles for three centuries. Catholics had lost much of their sacrificial and conquering spirit when Protestantism began to break up the unity of Christian Europe. After the treaty of Muenster (1648) the policies of the Church were directed mainly towards keeping what had not already been lost. However, a defensive attitude did not save the faithful. Rationalist and materialist movements made for further

losses. In the second part of the 19th century the Pope launched the watchword for an offensive: "Restoration of all things in Christ." Leo XIII realistically admitted the fact that masses had been lost by the Church and, most tragically, large groups of the working classes. But he did not lose time in complaints. He launched his famous Encyclicals calling for the application of Christian principles in cultural, social, educational and political fields. He encouraged the great modern currents of Christian democracy. Pius XI went further with his repeated call for Catholic Action which is nothing less than a total spiritual mobilization. This call for the cooperation of the laity in the apostolate of the Church is perhaps the most important turning point in Church history for many centuries. And the Pope stressed the exceptional importance of this call when he said he had spoken "not without Divine inspiration".

Two words constantly repeated, both by the Jocist and Pro Deo groups in Europe, express the channel of the new offensive: the *mystique* and *technique* of the lay apostolate. *Mystique*: a new dynamism on the part of the layman who has finally understood that he, also, is responsible for the saving of souls and must devote to this aim his full energies. *Technique*: a new approach by the layman to the secularized world which he strives to change from within through a policy of presence.

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CHAPTER III

THE FIELDS OF THE LAY APOSTOLATE

A brief sketch of the logical development of the lay apostolate in different fields of action will indicate the exact function which the Pro Deo Movement is called upon to exercise.

§ 1. THE RE-INTEGRATION OF PARISH LIFE

There can be no substitute for the parish. The parish is the cell of Christianity, the source of life and growth of the Mystical Body of Christ. The first initiatives of the lay apostolate all over the world have thus, logically, been devoted to the intensification of parish life.

The parish is no longer, as in the Middle Ages, at the center of daily life. Centuries of secularization of society have isolated the parish until it constitutes more or less a minority group rather than a dynamic force which animates social as well as individual life. In many cases, the parish priest unconsciously adapts himself to this situation. St. Paul said of the priest that he is "segregatus", which means that, by his vocation, he is separated from the world. He has renounced having a family, having a business, having interests in secular occu-

pations; he has separated himself from the ordinary concerns of everyday life to give himself completely to the spiritual care of all. Some pastors may have unwittingly patterned their parishes more or less after their own image and likeness. They may have been tempted to be satisfied when the parish consisted of a small group of faithful who were quite good, quite obedient, quite united, but also quite separated from the mass of the forgetful, the indifferent and the unfaithful.

The call of the Popes for the collaboration of the laity in the Church apostolate is gradually overcoming this segregation of parish life from *real* life. The lay apostle living in the world knows about temporal concerns, understands the psychology of a struggle for a livelihood and brings to the development of parish activities his lay experience and lay inventiveness. This can best be made clear by a few examples chosen from among very many, proving how often the laity devises efficient methods which would never be dreamt of in the parish house.

In many countries and regions of Europe and Latin America, where 80% to 95% of the people are nominally Catholic, the most pitiful fact is that only 30% to 40% and, in many cases, less than 10%, of the population practice their religion. It has thus been the primary concern of Catholic Action there to find new techniques for bringing the masses back to at least the minimum duties of worship.

Extraordinary results have been obtained by campaigns for the fulfillment of Easter duties, by campaigns for attendance of all parishioners at

Sunday Mass. Through organized personal visits to all families, by the use of striking leaflets, posters and demonstrations, well-trained and disciplined lay apostles have made the parish church once more the center of attraction. But even these applications of modern methods have not been sufficient. The discovery of special difficulties has prompted admirable discoveries of "unorthodox" but efficacious psychological appeal. One example will make this clear. In a typical proletarian parish of Antwerp, the most systematic efforts of parish propaganda had not succeeded in bringing the de-Christianized families back to church. A group of laymen initiated, together with the parish priest, the following procedure. They noted the exact dates on which members of three families had died, and then typed, for each case, an individual letter. Such a letter said, for instance: "Dear Mrs. Degroot: On next Friday it will be four years since your beloved husband passed from this life into the next. I have not forgotten him and, as father of the parish, I will pray for him especially in the Memento of the Mass at 7.00, at the main altar of the parish church." This letter, signed by the parish priest, causes great surprise in a family not used to receiving many letters and certainly not letters from priests. The widow is reminded of happier days and is touched in the soft spot of her heart. She shows the letter to her sons and daughters, uncles and nephews, to the neighbors. It is quite a sensation: a personal letter from the parish priest! It quickly occasions a current of lively comments: "Those priests are not so bad after all. It is not

true that they are only the friends of the capitalists. They are the friends of everyone." On the next Friday, the woman is at Mass, and with her are many friends who want to show their appreciation. Many have not been in the church for months or years, but all feel vaguely that, after all, there is something eternal in man and that religion should not be so easily forgotten. After Mass the woman edges into the sacristy to thank the parish priest who has been so kind to think of her family. Incidentally, his act has brought the Church closer to her everyday life, and the chances are that she will soon return, of her own accord, to arrange for another Mass for her husband "of holy memory".

This and other simple psychological inspirations of the laity have brought new life into many parishes. It can be said, however, that, in many regions, mainly in the rural parishes, church attendance is still general and such action is not necessary to bring people back to church. But other shortcomings are to be vanquished. One example shows the specifically feminine common sense which is such a valuable asset in apostolic work. A young woman who had been trained in Catholic Action techniques at the Brussels school of Catholic Action came back to her rural village of about 3,000 inhabitants in East Flanders. She applied the Jocist method: observe, judge, act. Having made careful observation of the different religious aspects of the community, she came to the conclusion that the most lamentable shortcoming was the fact that practically no men were to be found on Sundays at the Communion-rail. This phenomenon is not uncommon in many traditionally-Catholic places,

where men think too easily that they can save their souls by the religious practices of their wives and children. The young woman had been trained not to start Catholic Action by being critical of the parish. She went to see the parish priest and told him, simply, the result of her observations. Far from resenting this, the old parish priest cried out: "I am really happy that someone now shares my concerns. I have been combating this for twenty years and have tried everything — explanation, exhortation, imprecation — without effect." The young woman then spoke of a new approach which she thought might work, and the pastor gladly consented to have it tried. She based her scheme on some simple psychological principles. She visited the women while their husbands were at work and asked if they were not capable of influencing their husbands for once to get them to go to Communion on the occasion of the foundation, in the parish, of the League of the Sacred Heart. (The League of the Sacred Heart, in Europe, is similar to the Holy Name Society in America.) The women took up the challenge. They knew that, after the first weeks, marriage is not poetry, and so they did not try to cajole their husbands: "Dear John, do this to please me." They just asked the same thing morning, noon and evening, until the husband had to answer: "All right, I'll go — only leave me in peace." On the designated Sunday, there were not less than 300 men at Communion. It was the children, however, delighted with the excitement and special breakfasts, who unwittingly brought the lesson home: "Father, when are you going again to Communion?" This

simple little story, only one of hundreds, which marked the beginning of a slow religious revival, is proof that great changes in the hearts of men and the life of the parish often start with little things, and demonstrates how the practical layman can aid his pastor.

In the United States and Canada, the problem of the traditional non-practising Catholic does not exist in the same measure as in other countries. In the majority of parishes, as many as 80% are regular in the practice of their religion, and their sacramental life astonishes most foreigners. And yet, the call to lay action in the parish is not less urgent than elsewhere. For, in the midst of de-Christianizing influences, the parish must not only hold its own: it must become a conquering force. In fact, here as well as elsewhere, vital religious associations of laymen have sprung up and older ones have been revitalized. The dynamism of the Holy Name Societies, for instance, with their membership visits, rallies and forums, is a solid hope for the future. One phase in the development of the Holy Name Society of the archdiocese of Toronto is particularly significant. At the annual meeting of the archdiocesan Holy Name Society of Toronto, in October 1943, this writer had the privilege of sketching the principal techniques of the Pro Deo Movement, which was being started by a nucleus of Holy Name men. In the closing discourse, Archbishop McGuigan gave one of the most striking examples of the interior dynamism of lay apostolate. He had appealed to the Holy Name men to raise \$50,000 for the improvement of Catholic schools. Parish incomes had not been

sufficient for this financial burden (in an archdiocese of 100,000 Catholics — less than one tenth of the population) and the Holy Name Society had taken on the job. The Archbishop announced that the first goal had been achieved, namely the raising of \$50,000. The impetus of the drive had induced one individual to offer \$100,000 if the Holy Name Society could raise an equal amount. The Archbishop concluded: "The goal is now \$500,000." At the end of the campaign (1944) Archbishop McGuigan could announce that \$1,676,840 had been raised! This winning of unexpected sympathy and help in an unexploited field is the characteristic of the lay apostolate. It is the best argument for some parish priests who always fear that propaganda for a non-parochial work will reduce their parish income. Actually, the lay apostolate in the parish not only adds important channels of influence but also revives many traditional activities. There is generally a pleasant surprise in the financial field also. When approached by new avenues and various appeals, the faithful acquire the habit of giving more generously to specific parish activities. For this and many other reasons, the call for Catholic Action is also a call to the priests who should devote their best energies not only to the preservation of the faith, but also to the formation in each parish of a dynamic group of lay apostles. The time devoted to the training of lay leadership fructifies a hundredfold when finally the "cadres" are formed for the spiritual offensive which can make of the parish a conquering force in all fields.

§ 2. THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE SOCIAL MILIEU

The second great wave of Catholic Action can be understood in the light of the wonderful slogan with which St. Augustine expressed the challenge of God to man: "You would not seek Me if you had not already found Me." This must be applied to the methods of apostolate.

The masses will not search the way to the Church if they have not found the Church in their ordinary lives. It is a fact that modern man does not generally find the atmosphere of the Church in his work milieu. After centuries of divorce between society and religion, Christian ideas have become something quite extraneous to the practice of industry, commerce, administration and other activities where men spend the largest part of their days. Materialistic currents, not only among the working classes but in every class of society, have penetrated so thoroughly that the spirit of Christianity seems often quite foreign. The situation is, perhaps, worse in Europe and Latin America, where anti-Christian ideologies have created mass apostasies. In America, the opposition between Church and social milieux is not ideological, but it would be naïve to think that there is no practical indifference to the tenets of Christianity in this country.

We can, thus, have no doubt that large masses live outside the sphere of influence of the parish. We must realize the intimate drama of the young Christian man who has been educated in a Christian family, in good schools, has been faithful in church attendance, a member of devout societies, and who,

upon first going to work, finds himself in a different world inspired by other ideas, regulated by other habits. He will, perhaps, continue to fulfill his religious duties, but he will constantly run up against ideas other than those explained to him by his parish priest. He will find new problems and will discover that the answers worked out for him in his book of Christian doctrine do not always seem to fit the practical difficulties. He will have to start thinking for himself and will often feel helpless because his understanding of the faith of his childhood has not grown with his growth. He will be tempted to conclude that his religion is his private affair and not always applicable to his business life. He may develop the most dangerous Sunday-Christian mentality, so that for him religion is no longer a workday affair. He may end by thinking and acting as many others, avoiding ever confessing his faith or applying it to the real problems of his life. He is in constant danger of becoming an anonymous item in the amorphous mass to which we might apply the title of the Russian novelist Gogol's famous book: "Dead Souls".

The parish priest does not always have such problems in mind when he prepares his Sunday sermon. Even when he does think of this everyday drama, he knows he cannot, in his sermons, treat the specific problems of each social group in his congregation. The call to Catholic Action has resulted, after a quarter of a century of innumerable trials and experiences, in developing specialized methods for efficient action in the de-Christianized social milieux. A young priest of Brussels, Father

Cardijn, has been the great pioneer of this formula of social apostolate, and his Movement for the working classes has spread to 50 countries. Cardijn has hammered this simple truth into the heads of the laymen he has formed: "You are the leaven: the place of the leaven is not above the dough, or beside it, or around it, but *in* it, mixed with it until the whole mass is leavened and begins to rise under the inner force of the leaven."

This wave of Catholic Action is not strictly an extension of parish life. It penetrates far beyond the circles of devout society and brings its apostolic force into the midst of secularized milieux. This means that the center of this new form of apostolate is the cell in the factory, in the office, in the trade union, in all those different milieux which are outside the sphere of influence of the Church.

In Belgium, Holland, France, and also in Canada, Colombia, Argentina, Brazil, as well as other countries, the development of this form of Catholic Action has been based strictly on vocational distinctions. Experience has proved that the mentality of a man who works in a factory is quite different from that of a man who works in an office, of a man who works in the fields, or of those engaged in professions. It is on this basis that the now-famous groups of JOC (Young Christian Workers), JIC (Independent Youth), JAC (Farm Youth), and the corresponding adult organizations, have been established and have proved capable of solving many problems which were thought insoluble. In America, as in Italy, Spain, Poland and other countries, the organization of different groups for any apostolate along class lines has not, up to now,

been found necessary. It will not be sufficient to orient the indifferent masses to the parish and religious associations. The parish must form a sufficient number of lay apostles who can be sent out to create cells of Christian activity in the midst of their own work milieux. One man who decides to transform the atmosphere of the place where, in the plans of God's Providence, he passes the major part of his life, can succeed in communicating his enthusiasm to a few, and can find efficient methods to make a small initial cell the center of attraction for the revival of religious life. It is in this sense that the call of Catholic Action has been a ceaseless repetition that the working man must be the apostle of the working man, the employer the apostle of the employer, the farmer the apostle of the farmer, etc. It is in this sense that the overflow of parish life into socio-economic life is one of the great hopes for the future.

§ 3. THE PENETRATION OF PUBLIC OPINION

The third great wave of Catholic Action can only be understood in the light of a slogan which summarizes the universal experience of modern apostles: "Most of the ideas of modern man are the product of paper and celluloid." The influence of press and film has, in fact, superseded the spiritual influence of the parish and the social influence of different classes. Radio, the third great power, is now becoming an increasing influence, and to this

must be added innumerable means of propaganda and publicity which help create a multiplicity of ideological and emotional vehicles which one finds difficult to resist. These forces bring about an artificial atmosphere outside the traditional atmosphere of family, profession and religious community, creating a general atmosphere which is, as the air, equally present to men of every class, of every creed, of every race, of every culture. They not only spread ideas but stir feelings, arouse imitation through ceaselessly repeated examples, and create habits of thought and ways of life which influence men much more than they realize. The motion picture, which now attracts hundreds of millions, is the most vivid and emotional power influencing the souls of the unreflecting masses. The radio, a more superficial and ephemeral influence, pervades with its leitmotifs and trends the very atmosphere of the homes and thoughts of the masses. The influence of the press is more unobtrusive but goes deeper and shapes more intimately the basic conceptions of the common man. The great increase, not only in newspapers but also in magazines and illustrated papers, has developed the most powerful machinery of all time for producing in the masses current beliefs, opinions and tendencies.

In former centuries, works of apostolate tended to exert their spiritual influence in a restricted circle. Leaders have now belatedly discovered that isolation of the mind is no longer possible in the twentieth century; that no one can escape the omnipresence of the powers of public opinion. The parish priest preaches to his congregation on the

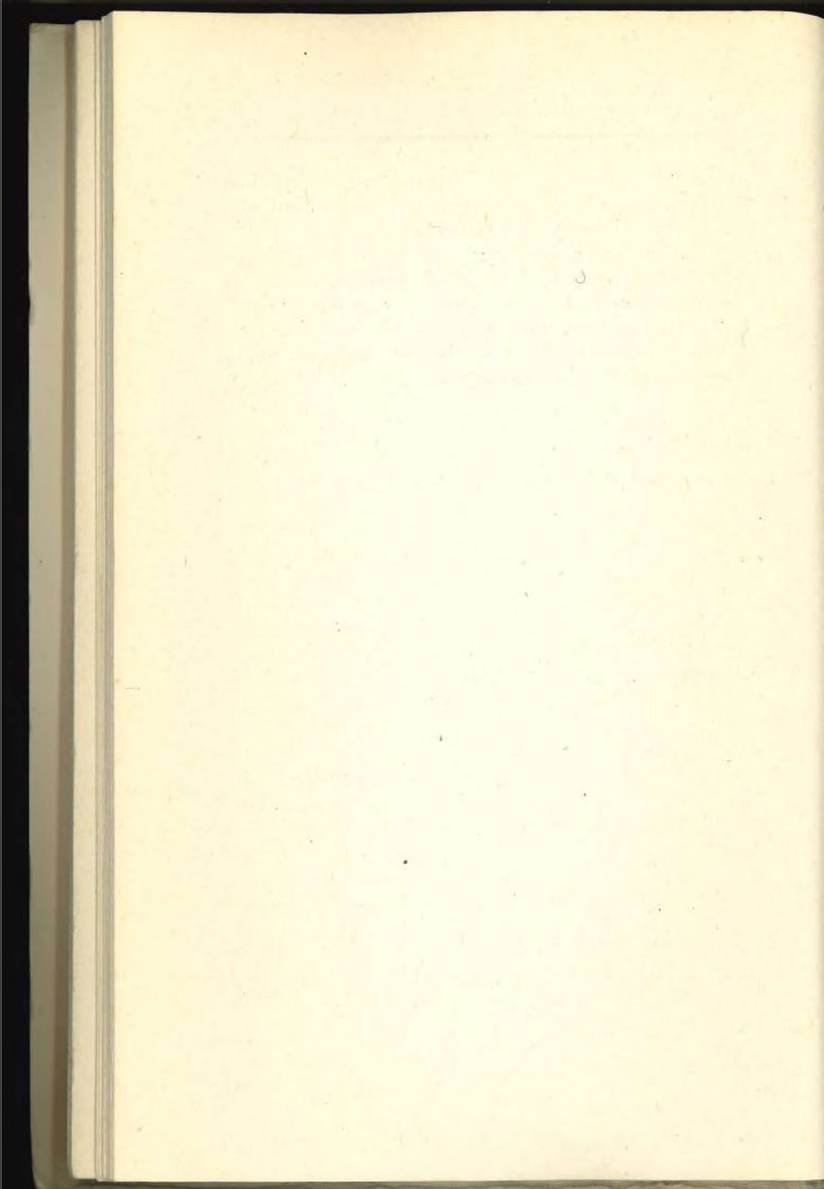
love of God and his neighbor for only ten to twenty minutes, and realizes that most of his listeners will be interested in another kind of love for three or four hours in the cinema where the love of God is generally absent. The strong-minded mother, guardian of the family, may bolt the door of her house and keep her adolescent children far from worldly contacts, but, through the radio, crooners of love-songs will be present to the ears and souls of young people. Catholic Action circles may be well trained and adapted to different social conditions, but they are no match against the daily influence of newspapers, magazines, best-sellers, which carry the spirit of the world.

It was in Belgium, apparently chosen to be the proving ground of the methods of Catholic Action, that the formulas of the apostolate of public opinion were first elaborated. These techniques came after the tremendous success of Jocism and other forms of Catholic Action, specialized according to various social milieux. The elite among the laity, formed in the discipline of modern apostolate, quite naturally came to devote their adult energies to a systematic offensive in this most modern field. After a trial period, various initiatives were coordinated, and the Brussels headquarters became, in 1933, the international center of Catholic film action. The coordination of Catholic radio action also began to take shape, and Brussels accepted the international secretariate, although the Presidents, Father Perquin, O.P., and after him, Father Dito, O.P., lived in Holland. The press activities finally also established an international clearing-

house for news which functioned, after 1937, with daily press releases, through the pooling of resources and staffs of the Breda, Holland, and Brussels, Belgium, agencies. The nucleus for an international network of agencies for the re-establishment of God in public life was finally formed through an agreement between the Dutch and Belgian Pro Deo Centers.

The development of these international organizations in the apostolate of public opinion will have to be achieved during the post-war reconstruction, for, unlike international Jocism and other organizations specialized in social milieux which started earlier, it had not achieved its full stature when the war broke out. Following the Encyclicals sounding a general call for Catholic Action and laying down the specifications regarding the apostolate of the working man among working men, etc., the Holy See has, with vigilant care, set forth the lasting principles which are the blueprints for an organized and coordinated apostolate of public opinion. In June, 1936, the great Encyclical, "*Vigilanti Cura*", sketched, using the experience acquired in the American and European organizations, the great lines of international action in the field of motion pictures. Directives for international Catholic press action were culminated at the International Congress of the Catholic Press in Rome, in September 1936. Papal letters and official statements made to the International Catholic Radio Committee in 1938 urged joint efforts with regard to this third great force in public opinion. For the first time in Church history, a chapter on the duties of Christians in

the modern fields of press, film and radio was added to the Canons, or ecclesiastical laws, promulgated at the fifth Provincial Council of Malines (1937). It must be recognized that the anti-Christian and demoralizing forces are much less vocal in the United States and Canada than in Europe. There is, however, an even more urgent call for Christians of this hemisphere to take the lead in reviving, in public opinion, Christian ideals.



CHAPTER IV

THE PROBLEMS OF THE PUBLIC MIND

Public opinion might be defined as the collective mind of men living in modern society. Undoubtedly each individual goes on developing his own lines of thought and expression. Organized groups of individuals have now their own press, sometimes their own radio programs and film productions. Yet millions are thinking the same thoughts as they read the latest edition and listen to radio news commentators, so that, although there is divergency of opinion, there are common currents of public opinion. The problems of public opinion cannot be solved by any one individual or any one organization. The potentialities and dangers of press, film, radio and modern propaganda must be faced in common by the forces of Christian apostolate.

Our aim in this study is to show how multiple Christian initiatives, developed at different times and in different places, mutually complement one another; and how, disregarding the chronological development, we are able to see the outlines of the whole structure.

§ 1. THE METHODS OF MORAL GUIDANCE

The first reaction of many Christians to the influences of secularized press, film and radio is, quite naturally, a gesture of self-protection. Cath-

olic Action, through its mass organizations, had achieved unexpected transformations in some pioneering countries. Gradually its leaders came to the conviction that, if the modern problems of film, press and radio were not solved, their achievements would be constantly undermined. The leaders of Jocism in Belgium took polls to discover the effect of frequent attendance at motion pictures on its members. They found that those who became film fans were soon lost to the Movement, as the appeal made by film stars did not encourage spiritual development. This was in the late '20s and early '30s, when the film industry of America was still having its wild-life fling. The cynicism and open immorality of French productions persisted up to World War II. The German productions, meanwhile, had swung over from the brutal pessimism of the Weimar days to a subtle paganism following the hypocritical "purification" during the first years of the Nazi regime. At first, the reaction in Catholic as well as Protestant circles was simple exhortation: good Christians should stay away from the cinema. The Jocist Movement even went so far as to promote a pledge by which all members were to renounce movie-going entirely. It was soon clear, however, that all the exhortations and imprecations would not succeed in bringing a man of the twentieth century to live as though he were still in the nineteenth. A more realistic attitude soon prevailed: the motion picture, as such, is not bad. Consequently the problem is only one of helping the public to choose unobjectionable and avoid objectionable productions. A technique for moral movie guidance was first developed in Belgium by DOCIP

(Documentation Cinématographique de la Presse). Through a network of reviewing groups in different production and distribution centers, the moral as well as the artistic and popular value of most films were evaluated before their release and were ready for publication by DOCIP at the exact moment when the public was first interested in the films. This was in 1930-31, when few newspapers gave any serious attention to what was still considered low-grade entertainment. DOCIP succeeded in introducing into a large number of newspapers a daily, sometimes weekly, *Movie-Guide* classifying the programs of each area: "for all", "for adults", "objectionable", "condemned". This system soon functioned not only in Belgium, Holland, France, but gradually spread to papers in other countries. The *Movie Guides* in European papers obtained results by awakening a consciousness of moral values and creating habits of moral discernment, but they lacked the final touch of popular appeal, although, from '31 on, the Catholic Film League of Belgium, followed by similar organizations in other countries, strove to gain mass membership. The Legion of Decency, established in America in 1934, found the solution: the method of the pledge to avoid in conscience immoral entertainment. This pledge, launched with the weight of the entire Church behind it and culminating in a collective oral promise given in the solemn setting of Sunday Mass, produced a dynamic moral force from the awakened conscience of Christians. It became one of the most powerful popular movements and was based on a permanent system of moral education of the public, with the normal result that there was an

improvement in productions. Monsignor Picard, pioneer of the Belgian Catholic Action of Youth, called the success of the American Legion of Decency "the first great modern victory of the Church".

The pledge method was soon taken over in Europe and is now starting in Latin America. It was subsequently perfected by the practice of obtaining signatures, more effective because more individualized than oral agreement in groups. A widespread diffusion of *Movie Guide* posters at church entrances, on the walls of buildings and at the windows of shops and private houses throughout towns and villages, exerted increasing influence in Holland, Belgium and France before the war, and has been one of the outstanding achievements of Catholic Action in Portugal and Spain throughout the war.

The same problem of moral guidance has to be solved with regard to literature. The "Index" sets down only a small number of books condemned for very specific reasons. For more than a quarter of a century, various organizations have been established to issue moral classifications of current literature: the "Borromaeus-Verein" in Germany, the organizations of Abbé Bethléem and of Fr. Sagehomme in France, the Belgian and Dutch library and book-reviewing organizations, were among the most efficient in this field. Various undertakings for the moral classification of books have also been developed in the United States, and special attention is given there to the Catholic choice of the good books of the month. A recent foundation in Canada, "Fides", has succeeded in obtaining proportionally

the highest diffusion of its book reviews and articles through the publication *Mes Fiches*. In only a few countries, however, has Catholic Action tackled the problem of moral guidance regarding the character of newspapers and magazines. The *Press Guide*, published since 1934 by the research department of the Catholic Press Center in Belgium, was the first in this field. After a few years, it had succeeded in introducing its press guide posters with lists of good periodicals into most of the Catholic meeting halls, and its small-sized posters and leaflets into hundreds of thousands of homes. The press guide booklets with fuller information (mentioning also the reasons why certain publications had to be warned against, and classifying 2,000 periodical publications) were spread in great numbers by the different Catholic Action organizations.

In certain countries, such as the United States, England, Canada, Holland, Poland, the sale of definitely blasphemous and pornographic publications is forbidden by the national laws which recognize certain moral standards. In other countries, where statutory laws are deficient in this point, large-scale campaigns had to be organized to use public opinion against widespread diffusion of such literature. In Belgium, this campaign was successful; in France and Spain, Peru and Chile, representatives of Catholic opinion protested in vain against such abuses of "liberty". These modern struggles brought about, in some countries, the creation of special Catholic Action organizations which had to be on the alert against all forms of public immorality. In Spain, Italy, Portugal, and

most countries of Latin America, Catholic Action has set up a special secretariate of Catholic Action centralizing all action regarding problems of public morality. In Belgium, Holland and the United States, special organizations exist to defend morality in certain important fields such as press, film, legislation, etc. The success in the United States of the "National Organization for Decent Literature" in diminishing the number of lewd publications is the most heartening precedent.

In the field of radio, the problem of guidance is even more difficult. Radio programs, like newspaper trends, are difficult to classify with precision not only because of the extreme diversity of their constitutive elements, but also because the scripts are rarely known sufficiently in advance for a timely approval or warning. The French radio organization, in the broadcast selections of its organ, *Choirs*, has been the only one to solve this problem more or less satisfactorily. Similar difficulties are to be overcome in the problem of theatre guidance. In this field, America seems to have achieved the best results.

Although the war has now disrupted the steady efforts of these organizations in most countries, it has been sufficiently proved that, through Catholic Action, the Church can adapt itself in a more subtle and effective way to the new situation created by press and radio than could be accomplished through strictly clerical agencies issuing solemn and belated condemnations. The new generation of modern Catholics has learned to observe and judge the multiform influences that mold man, and then act accordingly. The techniques for moral guidance

which were worked out in detail in the pre-war period will receive increasingly efficient application when normal conditions are restored.

§ 2. THE METHODS OF DIRECT EXPRESSION

The different forms of moral guidance in most fields are necessarily rather negative. Much must be condemned — more declared objectionable to a greater or less degree — and even with regard to those films, books, etc., which are acceptable *for all*, or *for adults*, reservations often have to be made. Consequently many educators and leaders sigh: "What can we offer in their place, not to entertain more or less innocently, but to bring positive Christian inspiration to the faithful beset with pagan influences?"

This reaction brought about the establishment of the Catholic Societies in the field of film production: "Etoile Film" and "Bonne Presse" (France), "Leo Film" (Pre-Nazi Germany), "Eidophone" (Holland), and "Brabo" (Belgium). Experience proved that Catholic newcomers in a field so highly trust-controlled could not sustain the competition on financial and technical planes. "Leo Film" and "Eidophone", after a struggle, liquidated, while "Bonne Presse" and "Etoile Film" hardly survived the advent of the sound film. Ideologically they proved unwilling to risk sharp opposition to the more or less lowgrade film taste. Their Catholic films were sentimental and often inane. Their pure entertainment films were technically inferior and

morally not above the level of a large number of films produced by secular concerns. The same laws worked in the field of distribution and movie-house operation: the Catholic effort never was able to achieve equal rank with others and, consequently, had to follow the existing trends.

These experiences brought about, in the last years before World War II, a new formula for Catholic syndicates which used the facilities of existing studios for the production of special films. The international Catholic organization for the production and distribution of small-sized films (16 mm. and 17½ mm.) was also showing results, mainly in the educational field. The union in one buyers' syndicate of the parochial movie houses had begun to improve the market conditions for a decent choice of films, principally in Belgium, France and Spain.

In the field of radio, the same difficulty of officially raising Catholic organizations to the stature of commercial concerns seems to have existed. Only in Hilversum (Holland), in Montevideo (Uruguay), and in Sao Paulo (Brazil) did Catholics succeed in founding broadcasting systems of nationwide importance. The Vatican Radio Station operates only on short-wave, but its influence and news coverage has been steadily increasing, especially during the war. Catholic radio stations on low-voltage wave lengths function regionally in Belgium, Portugal and a few other countries. Efforts of Catholics to compete with existing commercial stations ended in failure in Rio de Janeiro, New York, and elsewhere.

The efforts to develop Catholic programs on the

already-existing stations met with more constant success, as was the case in the movie field. The "Catholic Hour" programs on nationwide hook-ups in the United States and Canada are among the most remarkable successes.

In the field of the press, there are only five countries where Catholic dailies reach the majority of the Catholic public: Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg, Slovenia and French Canada. In many other countries there are a few small Catholic dailies, but the main effort is through a weekly press. As the weekly press can never be opinion-forming among Catholics influenced by the secular daily press, the problem of a Catholic daily press is constantly being brought up in most countries with a large Catholic population. Numerous formulas for the increase in popular appeal of the Catholic weeklies, for the development of modern means of propaganda (booklets, leaflets, posters, tabloids, etc.) have been worked out, but this effort has been slowed down by the war, and completely interrupted in the occupied countries.

One of the most hopeful signs is the tremendous increase in Catholic book production and the growth of Catholic publishing firms. The Christian book apostolate is extremely important because it is a necessary counterweight to the ephemeral influences of press, film and radio. The mind of a man whose only reading is his newspaper is like a blackboard on which everything is erased every day or even twice a day. A straight-news mentality has no real continuity of thought but mirrors a succession of often contradictory factual impressions and emotions. This typical 20th century com-

plex is a form of intellectual laziness and the breeding-ground of all demagogic movements. The training of Catholic Action is reviving a taste for personal study. A new generation has learned to examine its conscience at the end of the week: "If I have not read even one chapter of a serious book, I have not used my reason, instrument of my liberty; I have not learned to think for myself." The increase of production of Catholic publications promoting constructive reflection on all modern subjects is a solid basis for the apostolate of public opinion.

§ 3. THE METHODS OF INDIRECT APPROACH

The methods of direct diffusion of ideas through Catholic press, radio and film are adapted to a Catholic public which is definitely interested in its faith. This interest evidently does not exist in the large masses of non-Catholics and is, unhappily, not a primary concern of numerous more or less indifferent Catholics. Many Catholic organizations have developed aggressive attitudes, and hold that militant Catholics must be mobilized against the world. It is becoming more clear that this attitude is unfruitful and even unjust. For there is more ignorance and complacency than malice in modern man. Real atheism is rather rare in our times. The man of the street is, in general, not full of objections against God; he merely forgets to think about Him. Even militant anti-clericals have nothing against God Himself, if He would only remain

quietly far away, behind the clouds of His creation. They would not even object to the Church if the Church did not insist on applying her Divine teachings to daily life. The efforts of French, Russian and Mexican statesmen to wipe out God in His heaven have been shortlived efforts of a few sectarians, and the masses have proved that they cling for generations to their religious tradition. The danger for religion is to be found in the popular movements which attempt to shut off religion from life and to isolate Christianity in the Churches, claiming secular monopolies in education and propaganda.

The traditional means of direct religious diffusion cannot overcome this secularism which is, in fact, totalitarian because, notwithstanding innocent slogans, secularism claims the whole of man for its temporal aims. The problem of indirect approach has thus been one of the deepest concerns of the modern apostolate. The basic principle is this: in addition to preaching truths in which only fervent Christians are interested, we must also learn to treat the subjects of primary concern to the common man and, unobtrusively, try to clarify the spiritual issues which are linked with these current topics as with all other human things. Next to the official works of apostolate which preach to the world, there must be unofficial works which pursue ordinary occupations in the eyes of the world but which, having spoken first about what the world likes to hear, gradually presents what the world has forgotten. Admirable examples of these techniques of indirect approach are to be found in the field of film production. Deeply Christian scenario writers and

film directors have acquired the confidence of producers by proving they know the secrets of entertainment value and popular appeal. They have then succeeded in introducing, very delicately and without harming the box-office value, some spiritual theme. There is more of this in Hollywood and Mexican and Argentine productions than is generally realized. A good start in this was made in the studios of Paris and Warsaw. Furthermore, the Legion of Decency and the Catholic Film Leagues in Europe proved that they cannot only break the financial success of some condemnable films, but that they can also make the success of sound and deeply human productions. This indirect influence has an immense constructive value.

In the field of the press, the same spirit has produced unexpected achievements. Up to the early '30s, most Catholic papers were strictly clerical and recruited as readers mainly an elite of the faithful. Faced with a great wave of "yellow press", the editor of *De Standaard*, leading paper of Catholic intellectuals in Flanders, launched a popular edition, *Het Nieuwsblad*, which gave the uneducated masses what they wanted: glaring headlines, sensational murder cases, abundant illustrations, highly-developed sports pages and contests, but, in the center of all this, dynamic religious and progressive social education. In a few years the paper had 150,000 subscribers, among them a large number of indifferent Catholics won over from the unprincipled secular press. The same experiment of indirect approach revolutionized the Catholic press situation in other countries. The most striking examples are the *Mali Dziennik* of Warsaw, the *Uj*

Nemzedek of Budapest, and the *Slovenski Dom* of Ljubljana.

It is in this line that the Pro Deo Movement has developed its special techniques. Its main activities at the present moment can be explained by three simple conclusions: The common man is more interested in news and stories than in ideas: Pro Deo has organized news services for the interpretation of current events with the aim of clarifying spiritual issues. The common man is more interested in discussing the current questions of the day than the problems of eternity: Pro Deo has developed an application of Thomistic dialectics to lead the discussion of current questions and national traditions to their underlying principles. The common man is carried away by the great themes of topical interest: Pro Deo has developed a procedure to bring out the philosophy underlying the slogans which raise the enthusiasm of the masses. These formulas of indirect approach for the penetration of religious ideas into public opinion have now taken shape in the program and methods of the Centers of Information Pro Deo. The essential techniques of the national and local centers of CIP will be described in the second and third parts of this book.

PART II

THE TECHNIQUES PRO DEO

"Thanks to scientific progress during the twentieth century, there have been invented or employed, on a vaster scale, various methods of diffusing ideas. They can constitute a grave danger for Catholics, one which raises serious problems. Newspapers and magazines of all kinds, cinema spectacles, radio broadcasts, exercise a wide and profound influence on all classes of society; they are, almost as much as the manner of life led in the big cities and factories, of such a nature as to hinder the good training and the examples of virtue, received in the family or at school, for the purpose of leading souls to the practice of good. To tell the truth, it is very rare that they serve to defend, openly, harmful doctrines. But by their announcements, their romantic tales, their pictures, they exert, on conceptions of life and on manners of acting, such a power of suggestion that they constitute for adults a forceful education, of an almost tyrannical power in the society of today. The temporary spread of neo-paganism must also be attributed, in a large measure, to them . . .

"The Church praises and encourages the numerous and varied works which strive to spread sound principles in these matters, to enlighten consciences judiciously and to put them on guard against dan-

ger, or to employ, themselves, these modern methods to diffuse the Catholic conception of life. At the same time she exhorts Christians to patronize, as far as is in their power, those enterprises, so salutary and so necessary. Catholic Action, especially adult Catholic Action, has, in this domain, a signal mission to fulfill and a special apostolate to carry on."

(From Decree 71 of Title VII of the fifth Concilium Provinciale Mechliniense promulgated on May 31, 1938.)

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CHAPTER V

THE INTERPRETATION OF NEWS

The ideas threatening the Christian faith in the twentieth century are not those refuted in the official manuals of apologetics. The science of apologetics, although distinguished by great clarity in its presentation of errors and its arguments against them, has one practical defect: it often kills heresies after they have ceased to live.

The twentieth century could, perhaps best be defined by this simple statement: it is the century in which heretics have lost all following because their place has been taken by journalists and storytellers. But we must be sure of this diagnosis of our century if we wish to make a better world in this century. Perhaps the best way to see our century with the necessary objectivity is to try to imagine how different the mental atmosphere was before the advent of the printing press and telegraph, radio and cinema. What did people talk about? They had only rare and late echoes of what happened in foreign countries, and often did not even know the events current in the neighboring city. They did have some news regarding the happenings in their own circle and about the faults, and also about some of the virtues, of their immediate neighbors. But one little town or neighborhood does not have sensational happenings every day, and the merry-go-round conversation of banal

everyday doings must have been pretty monotonous.

Let us not think now that the man of the Middle Ages felt annoyed when there was no more news to tell or on which to comment. He knew less of the world around him: he had more of the world within him. He did not depend on news, on croonings, or on stories: he had ideas. The ordinary man of the Middle Ages would follow a famous preacher for hours or for days at a stretch, to sit at his feet in the church, or at the market-place, or in some meadow where the crowd was led, far from the city noises. Parchment made of skins represented a fortune, so the common man did not take notes or read manuscripts but engraved the arguments upon his memory and repeated them for himself and his neighbors with passion and perseverance. That explains how mighty movements were inspired by some purely theological and philosophical ideas, and how wars were started and carried on for the sake of some religious conception or interpretation of the Bible. The people of those times did not know very much and were certainly badly informed regarding the facts of geography, physics, chemistry, politics, economics, etc., but they knew some very important things remarkably well. They had no fear of reasoning, they had a passion for ideas.

The basic characteristic of our century is that the passion for news has definitely replaced the passion for ideas. A fact is not only more respectable than a Lord Mayor, as the English saying goes, it is more respectable than a preacher or a professor. It is more interesting than the most important conclusions of Christian philosophy and theology.

A regular course in philosophy or theology may

attract a hundred students. A treatise on the same subject may perhaps find a thousand readers. A popular preacher may win some thousands of listeners or readers. But the best-selling novel or factual non-fiction book easily reaches half a million. The newspaper chain, the radio hook-up, the movie distribution attract millions and millions. If the ordinary man reads one serious book in a whole year, he will probably be engrossed in a light novel or a piece of shallow reportorial writing at least once a month. And he will read his newspaper and listen to his radio every day, see his movie once or twice a week.

The ideas which have disrupted so much of the world in the last two centuries, principally in the last two decades, were not really dangerous so long as they were buried in the books of philosophers. They became the greatest threat to the Christian faith when they were carried through press, film and radio into the souls of the masses. The specific idea which undermines Christian faith in our country is the idea that it is most comfortable to have no set ideas regarding religion. This is the great modern heresy of secularism, which has succeeded in penetrating the masses just because it appears to be anything but a heresy. St. Thomas and the great apologists of later times had at least one comfort: they found adversaries who displayed a complete arsenal of arguments against God, against the Mother of God, against the Church, etc., etc. They waged and won fair duels of the mind with argument against argument, syllogism against syllogism, Summa against Summa. The secularized enemy of our times has no arguments, no syllogisms, no Sum-

mas. He gives the latest news, the most interesting story, but by an unobstrusive system of choice and omission, of slant and implication, he instills in the masses his own contempt for religious realities. This explains why Christian thought has not saved the world by its principles elaborated too exclusively in schools and in apologetic literature. The new situation calls imperatively for a new popular offensive. Christianity can save the world if its vast potentialities are made active through an efficient machinery of press, film, radio, new contacts to create a powerful current in the minds and hearts of twentieth century people.

The achievements of the press, film and radio apostolate for the formation of the Catholic mind are now sufficiently well known. We intend to describe in this essay the special techniques developed by the Pro Deo Movement for the penetration of religious ideas into the secularized milieu of public opinion. The basic observation and fundamental conclusion which have given rise to the different Pro Deo services are perfectly simple. *The fact: modern man wants news, not ideas. The conclusion: we must give him news and can clarify for him the ideas carried by the news.*

§ 1. A NETWORK OF INFORMATION

The first step towards the realization of the Pro Deo aims has been the setting up of a network to supply news which touches religious issues and can, at the same time, be of interest to the secular press and radio. This has been a long and slow

process of growth in the key countries of Europe and America where pioneers of different Catholic news agencies started collecting the threads for a Catholic coverage of current events. In the first period it was inevitable that these Catholic news agencies should have thought more of supplying the Catholic press with news than of trying to interest the secular press in more religious information. The Catholic newspapers readily understand that they need a common clearing-house for news, as they cannot each appoint correspondents all over the world. For this reason, the Catholic press has been the almost exclusive concern of the Catholic news agencies. With the years, the consciousness has grown that the supplying of Catholic papers cannot exhaust the task of the Catholic news agencies. For the Catholic press is, in most countries, not the press which creates the major currents of public opinion. Consequently most countries, even those which are Catholic, are influenced much more by the secular paper or commercial radio than by the diocesan or national Catholic publication. It is thus a clear duty of the modern apostolate to try to reach the very great number of non-Catholics and indifferent Catholics who never read a Catholic paper and are not attentive to Catholic talks on the radio which are the daily influences in their lives, the daily bread of their minds.

This growing consciousness of the unique rôle which religious penetration of secular press must play in the religious revival of public opinion prompted, in the last years before the war and even during the war, a steady and perseverant effort to develop and adapt new press techniques. Although

a minority of sectarian and anti-Catholic or anti-religious papers stubbornly hold out against any religious influence, it has been found that the secular press is not opposed to spiritual things.

The success of the network centered in Breda-Brussels was due mainly to the fact that it gradually developed news services which presented a happy medium, avoiding clericalism without falling for secularism. Clerical news might well be called the family news of the Church. This kind of news is essential to the officially Catholic papers. For any normal son will wish to read faithfully the exhortative letters of his father and mother, and will be interested in the epistolary reports about what has happened to his sisters and brothers and to the friends of the family.

So the Catholic reader will find in his Catholic paper the discourses of his Bishop and pastor, the celebrations of religious orders and societies, the various events of the Catholic community. He will be interested in the complete text of the Bishop's discourse, not because the Bishop is a great orator, but because he is his spiritual father. He will read the Catholic reports, not because they have general news value, but because they contain news of his beloved spiritual family. But if the reader is an indifferent member of the Church, or not a member at all, he will obviously not be the slightest bit interested. For this reason, clerical news may be printed, now and then, by a secular paper as a service rendered to Catholic readers, but it will generally not be accepted for news value.

There is, however, another section of the Church news that has definite news appeal for the secular

press and radio. It is the news about the stand of the Church on social, economic and political matters. The Catholic Church is a strongly built organization of nearly 400,000,000 members, and not a loosely knit collection of priests and preachers. It has created the present civilization of the old world and, by filiation, the civilization of the new world. It has withstood the political tempests of twenty centuries and, in this twentieth century, displays again undying dynamism. And so the secular press is more and more interested to know what the Church says and what the Church does with regard to the questions which are of interest to everyone. The modern enemies of the Church have, by their anti-religious deceit and their brutalities, unwittingly made the Church more interesting than ever to the secular mind. And so the exact detailed and authoritative coverage of the policies of the Church, and of the policies of a nation towards the Church, have news values which attract not only Catholics but also non-Catholics. This was the first medium between clerical and secular news to be developed by the CP agency of Breda-Brussels and is continued in the CIP services.

It soon became evident that occasional releases and periodical campaigns cannot really create a penetration of religious spirit into daily life. Real influence in the daily press is only to be acquired by daily releases because these alone fit in the proper rhythm of the papers' routine and can come to be considered as a normal organic part of journalistic life and not as some extraneous element. And so the Catholic news agency of Breda-Brussels had to decide to add to Church-State coverage

some other elements of daily interest. This led to the coverage of other secular events having some precise connection with spiritual principles. A great number of statements, actions, trends, movements, have no direct relation with the Church as an organized body, but are favorable or detrimental to human dignity, to justice, to charity, to one or more principles of a religious or moral nature, or to the tenets of Christian tradition. These events are often covered more or less satisfactorily by secular news agencies. They are treated better by the staff of a Catholic news agency, which devotes its total attention to the spiritual issues of secular events.

§ 2. A TECHNIQUE OF INTERPRETATION

Having thus marked the rules for the choice of news, we now must sketch the *Pro Deo* technique of news interpretation which is a modern application of Thomistic disciplines. Interpretation of news is the placing of events in their proper hierarchy of causes and effects. There are four basic causes: the formal and material causes, which are intrinsic; the efficient and final causes, which are extrinsic. Whoever starts reflecting on the news cannot help asking: "What is it, precisely?" And, in answering this question, the journalist must find the formal elements, must eliminate accidentals. This is the formal interpretation. The intelligent reader also wants to know the material elements in an event, the conditions which give it an individual character. This is the material interpretation. Often the question about the news is: "Whence?" The description

of the different efficient causes which brought the event into being is called the background interpretation. The most important question is rarely asked and more rarely answered: "Why did this happen?" If the real final cause is manifested, this is the interpretation of a program or policy; if the final cause is falsely masked, this is the interpretation of a maneuver; if the final cause is unexpressed, this is the interpretation of a trend.

This formula, which has been called in Europe *journalisme en profondeur* (third dimension journalism), presupposes that CIP correspondents are chosen from among those who possess a general synthesis of the great principles of Christian philosophy and theology and are especially trained to apply scholastic logic to the treatment of current news. These rules are elaborated in a special Course: *Methodology Pro Deo* established by CIP for the formation of specialists in the apostolate of public opinion.

To describe the effects on public opinion of these methods for spiritual news interpretation, a detailed survey would have to be made of the thousands of small items which, printed, reprinted and often paraphrased in thirty different countries, have quietly started building up a new force in the secular mind. But this comprehensive survey would be monotonous, for Catholic news agencies cannot compete with the secular ones in blowing up the news and catering to readers' tastes. The influence of the religious news agencies is one of the most elusive and subtle realities which the French call *impondérables*. This means that it is an influence that cannot be weighed, that cannot be located pre-

cisely, but that makes its quiet force felt everywhere. In other words, you cannot see it, but you cannot escape it. The best way to become conscious of it is to compare the state of public opinion before its existence, and afterwards. Before the existence of Catholic news agencies a small number of official Catholic papers did the best job possible, pointing out spiritual issues in world events. They did not have a regular flow of news of religious significance, as they could not maintain correspondents all over the world. They relied more on editorials than on news coverage.

When, first in Switzerland, then in America, Poland, Germany, France, Holland, Belgium, Hungary, Austria, Italy and Brazil, Catholic news agencies started their work, the Catholic papers were finally able to increase their popular appeal by a larger variety of short news reports.

But the secular press was still generally indifferent to the spiritual issues in current events, often divorced in this aspect from the majority of its readers who are religious-minded people. In some papers of some European countries, this lack of religious information was undoubtedly due to bad will. Pope Pius XI rightly spoke of "a conspiracy of silence in the world press" regarding certain forms of religious persecution. But in the great majority of cases, the secular press is not anti-religious, not anti-Catholic. The Christians themselves were to blame by their sins of omission and their policy of absence. The lack of an authoritative international clearing-house supplying religious information adapted to the needs of the com-

mercial press was certainly one of the main Christian deficiencies to be overcome.

This was the driving idea of Dr. Hein Hoeben who, after nearly ten years of perseverant efforts, was finally able to start an international clearing-house of news through an agreement to pool the staffs of the Breda and Brussels news agencies. In the three years of operation of the CP agency (from March, 1937, to May, 1940) a steady augmentation of attention to the religious issues of the times could be observed in the secular press of the countries which were serviced. The American agencies of the CIP set-up (centered in Lisbon since July 1940) continue the Breda-Brussels tradition and have inaugurated a stricter application of the logical methods described above. CIP has succeeded, starting again from the beginning, in developing first a condensed service, the *CIP Correspondence*, for leaders of public opinion; then a series of weekly syndicated columns, *Undercurrents*; and finally a daily service, primarily adapted to the secular press. In the United States (and also in Canada and Latin America, where Centers started in 1944) the press milieux have found unsuspected vistas opened to them by CIP materials and look forward with interest to the regular supply of news with religious significance.

This interest was proclaimed by declarations which CIP was allowed to reprint in its circular from such well-known journalists as Elmer Davis, Walter Lippman, H. V. Kaltenborn, Samuel Grafton, Mrs. Roosevelt, Fletcher Pratt, Quincey Howe, Thomas Woodlock, etc., etc. The fact that news agencies, papers and magazines telephone CIP or

send a representative with the aim of finding the answer to important religious news questions is not less significant. One director of a nation-wide radio hook-up told Mrs. A. M. Brady, director of the American CIP, that a distinct development of more balanced religious trends in its news analysis had been attributed to the CIP materials. To give a more concrete picture of the news apostolate in the modern world, we choose a few precise topics handled not without results in the last decade.

§ 3. NEWS AS AN ANTIDOTE

One of the crucial issues of public opinion has been, for many years, the question of the religious situation in Russia. As it was impossible to judge the background of the contradictory news items coming out of the Soviet States, the Breda agency decided to send one of its staff writers, who used the press name "Olav Leroy", to make a thorough investigation of the situation. He spoke Russian fluently and was able to escape strict supervision. So he talked, not only with officials but with the simple people as well as with the hard-working "popes" (or parish priests) who were carrying on their apostolate. The write-up of these experiences made an impressive series of articles which were syndicated internationally and later published (in 1938) in book-form under the title *Soviet Bankruptcy*. The gist of the conclusions was that as early as 1937 even the leaders of the "League of the Godless" were forced to admit that their propaganda had failed with the masses, and that the

zeal of their 2,000,000 members (against 180 million) was so problematic that the future of atheism did not look at all bright. The local leaders, on the other hand, forgot what they had suffered in speaking about the fact that the thousand-year-old Christian tradition was being reborn in the depths of the soul of the people, deepened by the elimination of all material incentives to the traditional practice of religion. Through contacts with Russian sailors who had a deep religious faith, and through other channels of communication, new religious movements in Russia were revealed and widely publicized. Among the Komsomol youth a re-discovery of Christ was being effected in "Gospel reading meetings". In the villages and homes, Sunday rest and icon devotions were being allowed. Itinerant preachers were spreading new Christian sects, and in numerous circles the "old-guard party line" was being superseded by a new kind of religious tolerance and by a new curiosity in religious matters. The Breda-Brussels releases were soon recognized as among the most authoritative and they did more than anything else to prove how wise was the distinction so often made by the Popes between atheist ideology of out-moded Marxists and the living spirit of a great nation.

A careful interpretation brought about a similar distinction in most European countries between the Communist sectarians and the working-class movements. The new Communist policy of "the popular front" with the slogan: "Catholic workers, we extend you our hand", was primarily a recognition of the fact that in Western Europe also the effort to absorb the masses in definitely anti-religious or-

ganizations had proved impractical. The task of the Breda-Brussels agencies was to show how the Christian attitude, as always, was on the side of the men of good will everywhere, even in those groups where the evangelic sources of idealism were obscured. Pope Pius gave a clear directive through Cardinal Verdier: "If the gesture of the outstretched hand means a desire to know your Catholic brethren better so as to respect them better . . . the Church will not refuse . . . and you will find she helps mightily for the happiness of all." Cardinal Gerlier added: "We will remain, whatever may happen, fraternal towards those who extend a hand to us. There will be from our side no word nor gesture that could create division."

This tolerance for the masses does not include tolerance for those who wilfully deceive the masses. Special sources of information allowed the Catholic press agencies to unmask many maneuvers and, in some cases, to win the battle for public opinion against clumsy partisan conspirators. One anecdote of special significance must be told here. August Deboeck, former leader of the Belgian Communist Youth Organization, back in Belgium in 1938 after a long absence, announced to a collaborator of the Catholic Press Center of Brussels that he had broken with the Communist party. He had studied at Moscow University and, leaving his Russian wife and child there, had been sent on a mission to Spain. His descriptions of the brutal methods of the GPU, the reason for his break with Communism, were released by the Catholic press agency and received wide diffusion. One evening he was called by his former comrades in Brussels and was told:

"If you continue informing against us, your wife and child in Moscow will pay for it." This was a crucial case on which the press would decide in a matter of life or death. If he kept silent, he had no guarantee of the safety of his family. If the matter was given full publicity it was probable that, in this period of popular front propaganda, the Communists would not risk a loss in popularity and, under popular pressure, would liberate the family. The latter course was followed and "the Deboeck case" made the headlines all over Europe: "Innocent wife and child will be shot because husband tells the truth . . . What price anti-Fascist union if the democratic right to change party affiliation is threatened with murder, blackmail," etc., etc. The story had an immense emotional appeal and went straight to the heart of the masses. Paris Communist headquarters had to take a decision (Belgium belonged to the Komintern jurisdiction of Paris together with the north of France). Consequence: a few days later the Communist organs in Belgium denied the story and proved that the wife and child of Deboeck were safe in Brussels. They had in fact (as could be easily ascertained) been flown from Moscow to make this denial possible.

This and many other incidents later brought the Communist party in Belgium to acknowledge that it had lost half of its members due to Catholic press action. The General Secretary of the Flemish Communists, Vanden Boom, even went so far as to promise, in a discourse at a party meeting, that the first bullet of the *grand soir* revolution would

be fired at the head of the Catholic Press Center of Brussels.

This work of clarifying the distinction between sectarian party lines and the real contents of ever-changing mass movements has been carried on during the war by the CIP network of information. From the scores of anecdotes analyzed in the *CIP Correspondence* and other CIP services, we choose just one, significant of the changed mentality.

A report told of a Catholic refugee in Toulouse who confessed to a leftist friend: "I have seen that the priests are the most regular visitors at the occupation headquarters, and I fear you leftists are right in accusing them of being pro-Fascist." The leftist answered: "You are wrong. I happen to know that the priests make those visits not to save their own hides but to intercede for the Jews and Socialists, and for any man who is unjustly oppressed." In other words, in his defense of justice and human dignity the priest has bridged the distance which separated him from the masses.

It had become increasingly evident, even several years before the war, that the greatest threat to religion comes from Fascism and not from Leftism. The Popular Front government in France, the coalition governments (with Socialists in leading positions) in Belgium, Czechoslovakia, etc., did not pledge themselves to religious policies but did in fact avoid anti-clericalism and practiced increasing tolerance. The danger loomed largest in the Fascist and semi-Fascist countries where official declarations in favor of Christianity masked systematic efforts to make of religion an instrument of the totalitarian State. A German Bishop, speaking to a

collaborator of the International Catholic Press Agency, summed up as follows: "The atheistic Communists have shot some thousands of Christians and found out that this shooting has awakened millions from their lethargy; the Nazis are more dangerous because they are slowly poisoning the minds of Christians, and we may not wait to resist until our death-sleep comes."

From 1937 on, the majority of German Bishops were convinced that the Concordat had been treacherously used against them, and saw some hope in a mighty movement of public opinion in free countries to stop Hitler in his persecution of religion. Up to then, the maneuver of playing up the material functions of worship, while cutting gradually the sources of Christian life — the schools and associations, press and public action — and censoring severely all communication with the exterior, had succeeded in making millions of decent people all over the world unaware of the danger. Through a special network of uncensored communications, the Breda-Brussels agency managed to secure a regular supply of authoritative reports on the religious aspects of the German situation. These items which, for reasons of prudence, were released through multiple channels as coming from outside Germany, were regularly reprinted and commented on in all free countries. The unmasking of Nazi maneuvers became so efficient that Goebbels was obliged to organize a "Catholic Press Service" to counteract it. (See Appendix 4 for a detailed story of the unsuccessful Nazi effort at self-canonization.) If an organized effort to liberate minds from error and deceit had

been started earlier, the Nazi plans might not have succeeded so well. A tragic but convincing proof of the havoc wrought against pagan Nazi propaganda by the Catholic network of information is found in the fact that the Catholic press agencies received priority in hate and suppression following Nazi occupation. The Breda agency was a target for a low-flying plane on the day of the invasion of Holland; the Brussels agency was immediately taken over by the "Geheime Feldpolizei" (Military Gestapo) and later partially destroyed in a search for documents. Six of the leading collaborators who were caught by Hitler died as a result of ill-treatment.

When the CIP was founded in July 1940 in Lisbon to carry on in a more concentrated form the work of the Breda-Brussels network, the unmasking of the amazing "comedy of good manners" played by the Nazis immediately after the invasion of Holland, Belgium and France, was one of its first tasks. The first copy of the *Libre Belgique* was soon smuggled to Lisbon by a remarkable stratagem of the man who became the third staff writer of CIP in Lisbon, and since then the supply of news on Nazi action and Christian counter-action has steadily increased through news channels leading to CIP correspondents in Switzerland, England, Sweden and Latin America.

§ 4. NEWS AS A SEED

Although the unmasking, day after day, of anti-religious forces has been, and always will be, a duty of religious news agencies, their primary aim

is positive: to strengthen the religious inspiration of the people. The world is full of wonderful examples and benevolent organizations, but Christian journalists have to ferret them out. They often have to argue, particularly against passionate humility, so as to apply the order of the Gospel: "Neither do men light a candle and put it under a bushel, but upon a candlestick, that it may shine to all that are in the house. So let your light shine before men, that they may see your good works, and glory your Father Who is in heaven."

It can be said that, in the century of publicity, the Catholic Church has been slow in acquiring a sense of publicity. And yet it is a primary truth of psychology that it would be easier for the world to become better if good achievements were talked about as much as bad ones. Only a daily press service gives sufficiently numerous occasions to speak of the magnificent record of cultural, charitable, social and economic organizations, of the great clerical leaders, of the inter-faith, inter-racial activities, of the inspiration which makes Christians prominent in secular activities. After some years of work, an encyclopedic background documentation has been built up by Catholic press agencies in the international and national Centers, and while this can evidently not be presented as news, it becomes news, if pegged on to the news, when some festivity, anniversary, celebration, or when a press attack, illness or death, makes it possible to focus attention on the existence of the persons or organizations in question.

In most countries, the necessity for news about the better things has been increasingly well un-

derstood. The Church, also, has realized that it is necessary, now and then, to make news of the better things. The organization of social, educational, Eucharistic, and other congresses is not only one of the best means the Church has to teach her doctrine to the faithful, but also a way of making doctrine into news for the indifferent. For, wherever such important groups are assembled, reporters must be, and, when the releases handed out to help them write up their stories are fashioned with technical skill, it is certain that some ideas can enter the newspaper columns along with the description of the attendance and the proceedings.

The Belgian Bishops, in 1936, succeeded in making news out of a most comprehensive synthesis of Catholic theology and sociology. They mobilized the total effort of Catholic Action and of all religious organizations to prepare a great Catholic Congress at Malines. For seven months the Catholic Press Center issued daily releases in which the news of organizational and promotional meetings all over the country, the appointment of speakers, the acceptance of Cardinals and Bishops from 25 nations, etc., etc., gave occasion to present the background of the magnificent Catholic growth of Belgium in the last decades. Because of this consistent campaign, the press and radio all over Europe carried dozens of stories which otherwise would never have reached the general public. When the Congress finally started, reports described for a week how many thousands listened to the leaders of Catholic thought and action in the thirty-odd study sections organized at Malines. For the closing manifestation of faith at the Heysel stadium of

Brussels, not less than 200,000, including delegations from practically every European country, were present. It was not the first time that Catholics had shown their strength, and that the secular press had bowed before the power of numbers. The newness of this successful experiment lay in the systematic coordination of the long-established organizations with the modern centers of press and publicity. The courses given at the Congress of Malines were a synthesis covering the applications of Christian faith to the most burning modern problems of science and culture; of economic, social and political life; of press, radio, film, etc.; which filled twelve volumes when published. For the first time a modern "*Summa contra gentes*" had made the headlines in the secular press, and for weeks, by being pegged on to famous speakers and spectacular events, certain important spiritual conclusions were grasped by public opinion.

It must be said, of course, that most of these conclusions were forgotten by the masses after a few weeks, and that frequent repetition of similar efforts of great magnitude to make news dealing with ideas would not work. But the problem is posed and a way is opened for a solution: a network of news agencies using many different approaches can make it possible for religion to penetrate, unobtrusively but permanently, into even the most indifferent secular milieux.

The first settlement in Boston was made in 1630 by a group of Puritan settlers from England. They came to the city in search of religious freedom and a place to practice their faith. The settlers were led by John Winthrop, who gave them the name "Boston" in honor of his hometown in England. The city grew rapidly, and by 1639 it had a population of over 1,000 people. The settlers established a series of laws and customs that shaped the city's identity. They built a church and a school, and they engaged in trade with other colonies and with England. The city's growth was hindered by a series of conflicts with the Native Americans, but it continued to expand. By 1700, Boston was one of the largest and most important cities in the colonies. It was a center of commerce, culture, and politics. The city's residents were proud of their heritage and their achievements. They looked back on the early years of settlement with a sense of pride and accomplishment. The city's history is a testament to the spirit of adventure and the pursuit of a better life.

CHAPTER VI

THE INSPIRATION OF THE STORY

Modern man objects to being considered a sentimentalist. He looks down upon the tearful romantics of the nineteenth century whose sob-sister sense of poetry now appears highly hypocritical and largely ridiculous. He smiles more or less tolerantly when speaking about the men of the "naïve Middle Ages" who expressed their "childish" feelings and faith in rhythm, color and stone. The dominating attitude of the twentieth century has been, up to now, a new realism: a hard-boiled contempt for any simple feeling of the heart. In France this "realism" was generally mixed with a goodly dose of cynical skepticism. In Germany it was first a fatalistic pessimism and then grew dynamic through a new surge of old paganism. In America it has developed, until recently, as a business-like hard-boiled form of self-satisfaction.

Modern man is realistic, and yet, more perhaps than his forbears, he is also a sentimentalist. The difference lies mostly in this: he has divorced his emotional life from his ordinary life. He finds no food for feelings in the daily drudgery of life and needs the artificial emotions of fiction. The solid and ever-increasing success of the human-interest anecdotes, of the fictional short story, and more still of the film romance, is a fact which will not be changed by the objections of those intel-

lectuals who would have liked it otherwise. Instead of harping exclusively on the abuses of story and picture, the Pro Deo Movement has developed techniques for the use of the appeal of the emotional story to spread higher inspiration.

§ 1. THE HUMAN INTEREST STORY

Even the most diverse supply of accurate and thoroughly interpreted news reports will not suffice to fulfill the needs of the normal reader for a very long time. Noted in the former chapter was the affirmation that "facts are more respectable than a Lord Mayor". They are not necessarily less boring in the long run. Something in the heart of man longs for suspense, intrigue, climax, rather than for clear and cold analysis. This explains the success of murder trials and sports competitions all over the world, the success of the *Time* formula of personalized news in America and of the *Vu* formula of *actualité romancée* (dramatized current events) which created a furore in France. It explains in general the growth of what may be called the "tabloid mentality" which lives more on flurries of feeling than on conclusion through reflection. CIP, although on a smaller war-time scale than its predecessor the CP Agency of Breda-Brussels, has used abundantly the human interest story to lend emotional appeal to some important ideas. In the news stories of the daily press service this is more difficult, as there is no space in which to develop suspense. But, whenever the material lends itself to re-writing, the human interest touch introduces the factual report.

In the syndicated columns of CIP, and in the *CIP Correspondence* the thousand word news articles permit the application of what may be called journalistic dramatic art. The same facts which, when presented in bare chronological or logical order, would not excite the reader, can be worked into a living rhythm, sometimes offering a striking climax following real suspense. As truthfulness is more important than reader-interest, the number of dramatized news stories will necessarily be limited to those subjects which offer the suitable elements. A few examples must be given to show what is meant by the expression "dramatized news stories".

For instance, we have to write a story about the Nazi oppression of Holland. There is a tremendous store of good material. If the facts were put in the order of chronological succession it would be a story of only moderate interest because the saturation point in oppression stories has been reached. In the CIP method, the factual materials are grouped not according to numerical, chronological succession but according to the succession of different maneuvers which have gradually been unmasked through the study of the materials. And so, the story of Nazi deceit receives an original suspense, being divided into four acts marked by sub-titles: 1. Caresses for Socialists, 2. Politicians on Lease, 3. Press on the Tightrope, 4. Cap and Gown. The same method applied to the material on Nazi-occupied Croatia resulted in a story: Three Doses of Pavelic Catholicism: 1. Oh! so Catholic! 2. All-too-Catholic, 3. Anti-Catholic.

The techniques of the human interest story are also to be applied when the problem is exacting to

create interest for ideas struggling for application. One example will make this clear. In 1938 Canon Cardijn, founder of the Young Christian Workers' Movement (Jocism), decided by an all-out effort to prove to the world that the working classes wanted peace and international cooperation and were opposed to the totalitarian attitudes of superiority and domination which were leading to war. A "pilgrimage of peace" consisting of thousands of workers coming from fifty nations in different parts of the world were to present to the Pope the expression of the real desires of the workers. The making of press releases for this world-wide campaign was entrusted to the Catholic Press Center of Brussels. The press campaign aroused wide attention in those troubled days. Undoubtedly this was so because the theme was timely, but perhaps more specifically because the trained leaders of the Catholic Press Center had succeeded in convincing the Jocist leaders of the necessity of using the human interest stories incidentally sent in by the local sections of the Movement or explicitly sought in questionnaires. The stories showed in touching detail how underpaid working boys and girls made persistent sacrifices for their goal: denying themselves cigarettes, superfluous food, new clothes, and undertaking additional part-time jobs so as to help raise money to send the leaders of their action cells to Rome. Canon Cardijn did not regret the agreement to cut down the publication of his speeches and to limit the official announcements so as to concentrate on the details of the human, and even humorous, side of their great spiritual effort. Some of the stories created a sensation, as with

a sport or murder story, and were followed up by several instalments. The story of the "little pig of Brasschaet", for instance, became quite famous. The Jocist group of this village near Antwerp had hit on the idea of raising a pig to pay the pilgrimage expenses of their president. They bought a suckling pig and fed it with the left-overs gathered after work from the kitchens of the community. These were abundant, and the Jocist pig had good reason to be one of the happiest pigs in the country. He grew: 50 pounds, 100 pounds, 300 pounds, 400 pounds, 450, 500, 520, 540 pounds. There was suspense, as in a record-breaking competition. The pig reached about 600 pounds, and was sold at an exceptional profit sufficient to pay for the Vatican trip of the Young Christian workman. These and similar stories were made to carry unobtrusively the inspiring ideas of the Movement. The war broke out on the precise day when the first contingents of the pilgrimage were to leave for Rome. Instead of being discouraged, Cardijn commented: "The months of spiritual preparation and the publicity given to our ideas were perhaps more important than the pilgrimage itself."

* * *

Human interest stories of this kind are even more necessary in the use of the medium of radio than in the press. The radio listener cannot re-read an ideological expression which may have struck him, therefore the central idea in a Christian broadcast must have greater impact. It is mainly because of its supply of human interest stories from occu-

pied Europe, and its technique in dramatizing them, that the CIP staff was chosen to make, in several languages, the weekly or semi-weekly religious broadcasts to Europe, first for Columbia Broadcasting System, and later also for the Office of War Information. The following is an unabridged example, because it shows better than summarized notes how, with factual elements and a lively dialogue, suspense with unexpected climax can be created.

"Love is stronger than Death", says the Bible.

The friendship of those who share our convictions is stronger than any censorship. No control at the frontier could be complete enough or strict enough to keep French Catholics from sending news to their friends in the free countries across the sea.

Thus it is that we have heard recently a story about a French Bishop who dared take a very clear and firm stand concerning the persecution and deportation of Jews which has now broken loose over France.

For reasons you doubtless know, we cannot give you the name of the prelate who was able to give such a pertinent answer to a ticklish question. The story is none the less true and none the less interesting.

One evening, when it is already dark, the Vicar General of the Bishopric is visited by an old woman in rags and very emaciated. The poor soul comes to beg His Lordship to give her alms. "Because, you see, I haven't eaten for two days, and for two days I have been dragging my misfortune in the streets of the city."

He puts his hand in his pocket and pulls out

a fifty-franc bill which he gives to the beggar, saying:

"Take this bill, and now use up the ration cards you couldn't use when you didn't have any money."

— "I have no ration card."

— "Why, how is that?"

— "I have no legal home."

— "And why not?"

— "I dare not register with the police because I run the risk of being immediately deported to the East where, as you know, there are not many chances of surviving."

The old woman hesitates a moment and adds in a low voice:

"I am Jewish, you know."

The Vicar is a prudent man, an extremely prudent man. He fears that he has seriously compromised his Bishop. He thus asks the woman to wait for him. Immediately he seeks out the Bishop to whom he tells his story.

The Bishop listens very quietly to his Vicar. Then very calmly he turns to him and says:

"Here is another hundred-franc bill for your unfortunate visitor. In giving it to her, tell her in my name that I thank her for having allowed us the honor of helping her."

By that gesture the Bishop showed his Vicar how to oppose total paganism with total Christianity.

Your racist masters speak to you scornfully of the "Sacred War of the Jews" — of the "Holy War of Zion". Thus unwittingly they are pointing out one of the most mysterious designs of

Providence in current history. Certainly the Jews did not ask to be persecuted any more than they had asked, in ancient times, to be the chosen people, destined by God to proclaim His message.

Today again the Jews have been elected to be a symbol and a touch-stone. The Jewish question is the very question through which those who are evil, those who are weak, and those who have already given way spiritually, fall into complete degradation. And the others, the real Christians and men of good will, manage to use the same opportunity to rise higher towards the plenitude of their spiritual dignity. The Jewish question reveals the true nature of human evil in all its brutality and in all its tragedy. In the anti-Semite problem there comes to light the full measure of the spiritual and moral debasement of pagan doctrines and of materialistic arrogance.

Every race is made up of good and bad elements. Nevertheless, in every group of human beings we see only brothers. As the Bishop shows us, the Jewish question teaches us always to oppose anti-human principles clearly and forcefully. It is in our defense of the Jews that we learn the duty that is incumbent on us to unite in cordial brotherhood with all men of all nations, with all those who are men of good will.

This technique can be applied, without falsifying the true picture, to a great number of subjects. The reports and letters from army chaplains, for instance, are often so visual and individualized in their description of concrete cases that for the

past two years they have formed excellent human interest material for the CIP broadcasts made, each week, for the Germans and French in Nazi-controlled Europe. These are the kinds of stories which are picked up quite regularly for medium-wave broadcasting.

A human interest story is also necessary to drive the nail home after strenuous news interpretation. We take, for example, the question of "national Communism" in Belgium. The treatment of this question is very delicate, by reason of the fact that the term Communism has had but one meaning for twenty years, and now new "underground" meanings are being used, giving many occasions for misinterpretation. In one article CIP described with numerous examples the new situation of Catholics versus Communists, and vice-versa. The matter had to be treated with many nuances to avoid confusing the reader. In such a case as this, the use of an anecdote was essential to make the point. The article, using the title quoting the Nazis: "Those Bolshevistic Belgian Catholics", ended with the following story:

"In Liège, the leaders of the underground movement had to make a tragic decision. A traitor had become so dangerous that the imprisonment and death of hundreds of innocent people was certain to follow from his actions. It was a case of legitimate self-defense. They decided to anticipate the traitor's moves by placing a bomb in his house. Two young Catholic patriots unused to such work were chosen for the job. They made a miscalculation and the bomb exploded before they reached the traitor's house. One of the boys was killed, the

other wounded. The Germans seized him and shot him immediately.

"The priests of Liège knew that the boys had died for a just cause, that they were martyrs in the struggle of the spirit against brutal force. They announced the celebration of a Requiem Mass to be offered for the repose of their souls. Word went around the city and the crowds that attended the Mass overflowed into the street. These people felt that by attending this Mass they were proclaiming their unity, and many non-Catholics joined the faithful. For all understood that, opposed to the crooked cross of Nazism, the Christian Cross stands straight and unbreakable.

"The Nazis understood this, too. They forgot their little maneuvers and their comedy of friendliness, and imprisoned the priests who had officiated at the Mass for the two patriots. The town was in an uproar from end to end and the people made their anger felt. The most sensational incident occurred the day after the imprisonment of the priests. An immense inscription appeared on the walls of the church. The colossal letters painted in whitewash read: *GIVE US BACK OUR PRIESTS*. The message was signed with the Hammer and Sickle. In other words, even the Communists had recognized that the Church was a great power for the defense of the rights of man against the barbarians who had overrun the country."

§ 2. FICTION AND ILLUSTRATION

It is amazing that so many preachers and even so many editorial writers forget persistently to use

parables as vehicles for the truth. It is most revealing to see how the study of the techniques of the Gospel can teach us how to increase the power of Christian ideas.

This was one of the first ideas of the Belgian "Offensive for God" movement which led to the press agencies and other organizations described in this book. The nucleus came from the assembling of a group of dynamic young Christian writers who felt that a dynamic faith needed expression through lively and revolutionary forms of literature. One collaborator created a fictional figure, "Papa Pier", who became very popular with the public because what happened to him was what happened to every man on the street . . . and yet his common sense was full of Christian philosophy. Another would take a given idea and build around it a present-day novel in which each instalment had suspense and unity. An Austrian refugee had an uncanny talent for fantastic short stories which, as fairy-tales, fascinated the readers and yet were made to develop unobtrusively very precise ideological themes. The easiest way of reviving abstract ideas was the feature *The Gospel of the Modern Man* which was nothing but present-day applications of well-known stories and parables.

The ideas of the Pro Deo Movement were launched not only through the press, but also through a special type of popular meetings in which *chœurs parlés*, a kind of modern applications of the symbolic *Everyman* play, were the main feature. On the radio, dialogues, forums, short psychological "radio sketches" with an ideological

background, were used to convey the ideas of the Movement. In this connection we must note that the experiments which preceded the Pro Deo Movement proved that visual illustration is, together with dramatic suspense, the best means of giving to ideas emotional appeal for the masses.

One example, chosen from one of the most critical campaigns, will show how the visual appeal to the masses can be decisive. In 1935, the export of definitely pornographic magazines from Paris to Belgium was steadily increasing. At first surveys showed that the sale of these *specialized* magazines was confined to certain centers in large towns. It was thus evidently best to continue the policy of silence, as violent attacks would only have made gratis publicity for this perversion, and many people who had never heard of these publications before would have been made curious "to see if they were all as bad as 'they said' ". But when this pornographic literature began to spread all over the country, and cheaper editions at 1 or 2 francs (5 or 10 cents) began to flood the market, new surveys made by the Centers of Action Pro Deo showed that even in villages the ordinary newspaper shops and stands sold large piles of these filthily illustrated magazines every week. Inquiries made by branches of Catholic Action proved that they were gaining ground surreptitiously in educational institutions, factories and offices, and constituted an unprecedented threat to the morality of the nation. At first the means of official Catholic Action were used. The Catholic Youth Association (A.C.J.B.) collected more than 50,000 signatures on a petition to the King asking him to set bounds to these

influences perverting his people, particularly the youth. The King referred the matter to the Government which, referring to the constitutional law (forbidding any "preventive censorship"), declared it could do nothing. Further study with the lawyers assisting the Pro Deo group brought the conclusion that "if the pornographic literature were the cause of public disturbances, this cause could then be legally removed by the authorities".

A group of young laymen, who in no way engaged the authority of the Church or of official Catholic Action, decided to apply the only method left to eliminate this danger against which the Belgian Constitution (as most European Constitutions of the "secularist" period of circa 1830) had provided no remedy. At the hour when people crowded the streets after Sunday Mass, young men went into the shops and, displaying 50-franc bills, asked for a choice of the most notorious pornographic magazines. The magazines were then carried out into the street and torn up in public. The newspapers had been warned that there would be a good story to be had at that precise place and time. They came, took notes and photographs showing how the masses soon became violent in approval or disapproval, how the police took the "culprits" home, how street-car service was interrupted: in short, how public order was really disturbed. The trials of the "culprits" gave additional publicity to the ideas of moral protection. One Judge, Auguste Van Cauwelaert of Antwerp, wrote an opinion which became famous. He declared that merchants who, by their sale of pornographic literature, rightfully provoke moral indignation can-

not expect to be protected by the law which is supposed to be based on moral principles.

All those happenings made magnificent material for emotional stories. Yet they would never have achieved their full impact in public opinion if one of the most talented Pro Deo collaborators, who signed with the initials F.V.I., had not, through striking cartoons accepted by the principal dailies, roused the full indignation of decent people. Finally, a law was passed by Parliament forbidding the importation and sale of pornographic literature. By three successive *arrêtés royaux*, no less than thirty-five different publications were stopped under the application of the law.

This example, which treats an exceptional case, has been chosen because it shows concretely the possibilities of emotional appeal through story and cartoon to the moral conviction of the masses which, too often, is only a passive force in public opinion. It would be wrong, however, to conclude that Pro Deo advocates in any way the techniques of agitation which rouse the uncontrolled passions of the masses. In fact, the use of stories and cartoons necessary in the battle against the enemies of the people is of current usefulness in popularizing the simple and too-often-forgotten truths and virtues of Christian tradition. The Pro Deo monthly and bi-monthly tabloids and magazines which had a circulation of two to three million copies conjointly in Holland and Belgium became powerful factors in this field the last years before the war. This development has been stopped through the invasions. There can be no doubt, however, that if the Christians are to prevail over secularism in

the post-war period, this will depend in a large measure on the use by Christians of the whole gamut of emotional appeal.

§ 3. THE INSPIRATIONAL FILM ANALYSIS

"The motion picture has become the most popular form of diversion. There exists today no means of influencing the masses more potent than the cinema." Pope Pius XI proves this thesis in his Encyclical *Vigilanti Cura* showing "the power of the moving picture consists in this: that it speaks by means of vivid and concrete imagery . . . living pictures . . . This power is accentuated in the talking picture . . . and the charm of music adds to the action and drama . . . Theatres, not unlike schools of life, have a powerful influence for good or for evil on the majority of men". This Encyclical is perhaps the most explicit recognition by the Church of the immense emotional appeal of story and picture, and the only one ever to explicitly treat a particular industry.

It may be of some use for the future reconstruction of the Christian film movement to summarize a few conclusions and examples from the experiences of the specialized film press office, DOCIP, which was created in Belgium in 1930 and became an international center in 1933. Although in Europe, as in America, the first problem to be solved was that of moral guidance for movie attendance, it soon became clear that intellectual as well as moral education must be the remedy in the most modern field of art and entertainment. For if selection replaces abstention, it is absolutely necessary for

modern man to learn to distinguish, in the films he sees, the deeper values from those elements without significance.

The first step was to give to the *Movie Guide* a positive orientation by means of *Film Choice*. The principle applied in the European *Movie Guides*, and in the lists of the Legion of Decency in this hemisphere, is more or less negative: it marks the films which are unobjectionable and those which are objectionable or condemnable. Often a film is acceptable because it is too stupid to be morally harmful, or because it is so unreal in the fantastic realms of fun that no moral issues are raised. Christians, if not guided by positive indications so that they choose intelligently among acceptable programs, may find that they have often chosen to annoy themselves... virtuously. They may be tempted to discard this "purely" moral guidance and look elsewhere for information regarding the artistic entertainment values offered in return for the price of a seat. Consideration of this fact brought the film press office DOCIP to introduce a second norm in its classification. Having answered the question: Which are the films bad enough to be declared unacceptable? it answered, logically, the second question: Which, among the morally acceptable films, are those really worth seeing? The list of current productions which come up to the level of positive interest because of ideological, artistic or entertainment values constitutes what is called the *Film Choice*. These films are marked with two or three stars in the *Movie Guide* printed in the newspapers, and in the special posters displayed all over the area. A short clari-

fication summarizing the special value worthy of attention and promotion helps the readers to choose according to their preferences and to look at the film from the right angle. This explanatory note makes it possible to point out for adults some outstanding productions in which some dominant theme worthy of hearty approbation overcomes other elements which can be criticized.

This sketchy description of the film choice method obviously calls for further elaboration. The art of constructive ideological film analysis has grown out of this concern for the clarification of the deeper issues in motion pictures. It may be said that in Europe, from 1929 on, a cultural Christian film movement grew out of the enthusiasm created among intellectuals by the first constructive ideological film analyses made by Catholics. These were reprinted so eagerly by leading newspapers that the increased demand made the organization of a film press office, DOCIP, an imperative necessity. In those years, the film had grown from the first childish pranks of photography on the move, beyond the boyhood thrills of fearful and tearful melodramas and slapstick comedies, into full maturity with its problems of life and death. The public recognized that the movies would have to be taken seriously as a major and most powerful art which could be a marvelous instrument of culture. It was a revelation to many to see that Christianity had proved itself to be something more than the policeman of movie morals, that it led the way to a comprehension of a cinematographic art and deeper movie inspiration. French production firms which com-

plained bitterly about "*un certain monsieur DOCIP*" who inflicted financial losses on objectionable films, admitted that the staff writers of DOCIP certainly knew better than any others how to analyze the technical and human values in film productions. German authorities who objected violently to what they called "*Paepstliche filmzensur*" (Papal film censorship) could not deny that the analyses of DOCIP and of the German Muckermann organ *Filmrundschau* were culturally valuable. (The *Filmrundschau* survived several years after the Nazi suppression of the other Catholic press services.) The organ of the film corporation in Belgium felt obliged to go in for violent abuse and occasional boycott by suppressing all film publicity for newspapers which printed the *Movie Guide*, but their choicest invectives backfired in their own faces. In an effort to ridicule, they had launched the Latin slogan: "Ite et docipite omnes gentes" (parody of "Ite docete omnes gentes — Go and teach all nations"). But *Filmliga*, *Cran*, organs of the Catholic film movement, retorted: "Yes, we acknowledge the mission to go and teach the nations the Christian inspiration of DOCIP." It was inevitable that in the international boards for cultural film awards the DOCIP writers should play a prominent and independent rôle; curiously enough, they sometimes found themselves allied with the leftist intellectuals, as for instance when they swung the vote in 1935 to give the highest award to *The Informer* of John Ford.

In America the same trend towards positive norms for film appreciation developed parallel to

the struggle against film immorality. The 1936 report of Joseph Breen, a Catholic and Director of the Production Code Administration, contained in its balanced interpretation of the norms it put in practice exceptionally valuable elements implying that moral control is not possible without the promoting of higher ideals. Martin Quigley, founder of the oldest and most authoritative film review, *Motion Picture Herald*, and lay pioneer of the Legion of Decency movement, introduces his historical book on *Decency in Motion Pictures* (1937) by pointing to higher principles: "Not only to youth but to the whole public the motion picture is an agency which assists in establishing ideals and standards. It causes the acceptance or rejection of ideas, dependent upon the manner and the purport of the presentation." Monsignor McClafferty, National Executive Secretary of the Legion of Decency, has suggested and sketched along the lines of ideological norms a plan for a Catholic institute of film analysis distinct from the Legion of Decency. The war disturbances have postponed its realization.

There is no doubt that the inspirational task of Christianity in the field of motion pictures will be of immense importance in post-war reconstruction. There is good hope regarding this, for the greatest financial successes of the last years have not been achieved by the "oomphiest" flappers who play stupid little games with that wonderful power called love, but by the great stories of the higher love that is stronger than death. The love of a man for his country, for forgotten brothers, for aban-

doned youth, for a better society; the love of the mother for her child, and of the child for his parents, the love of man and wife in the permanent union of common purpose and sacrifices; these themes have made the greatest successes of Hollywood. We must choose one example to show the oh-so-virtuous and aesthetic wishing for films which have never been made and probably cannot be made is barren, while constructive analyses made of existing films which have moved the hearts of the masses can express the deepest inspiration. The film *Meet John Doe* (by Capra, the man who made *Mr. Deeds Goes to Town*, *Mr. Smith Goes to Washington*) is an excellent proof that there are more riches in the heart of man than are dreamt of by many a publicity agent.

The fundamental rhythm of this picture is very significant for the post-war contribution of America: First move: self-criticism; second move: idealism. The chief figures are typical: Gary Cooper is the unsophisticated man whose slow and straight ways are more American than loud-mouthed and super-brilliant appeals; Jean Arthur is a star in whom the light of intelligence is stronger than either glares or glammers. The story is typical too. The new boss of the newspaper has sacked Jean with others, for he is going to make louder political agitation and offer more sensation. "O.K.," says Jean, "I can let him have sensation." Her last article goes to press: "On Christmas night John Doe will commit suicide by jumping from the highest skyscraper." The heading is in fact sensational and brings mountains of mail. The boss

has to take her on again, and soon they are faced with the dilemma of producing a real John Doe or facing the ire of the frantically curious public. Jean finds a long-legged vagabond (Gary Cooper) who agrees to become the mysterious man who wants to commit suicide to show his disgust of inequalities in bourgeois democracy. The daily article of Jean Arthur alias John Doe, followed by the daily broadcasts, meetings, etc., etc., becomes a huge success. And now the monster "sensation" starts, as usual, devouring itself. For sensation is after all the most monotonous and dull thing in the world. It succeeds by the surprise of the unusual fact, but as the unusual becomes very usual by repetition, there is soon need for invention and even for ideas.

Jean Arthur, helped by her mother, remembers on a certain desperate evening that her father was a man who had talent and ideas. She serves the speeches and articles of this forgotten idealist as those of John Doe to the hungry masses. It happens that in all his writings her father had only one idea: meet your neighbor, and love and help him with all your heart. It happens that this very simple and often forgotten idea strikes the profoundest feelings of the masses. A new kind of drama comes to a quick conclusion in the hearts of millions. In towns and villages man visits his neighbor who had been very far from him up to now, discovers unsuspected misery and unexpected friendships. Applying the precept: My brethren, love each other, he finds that joy springs from it. "John Doe Clubs" begin to cover the country, the masses are

swept forward united as by an electrical current. It happens (and not for the first time since the Gospel of Christ) that brotherly love becomes a political force of the first order. Reactionary politicians now try to use this movement of the masses for their egoistic aims. (This was bound to happen, for all good things in society are sometimes abused by bad men, and only fools or dangerous dreamers believe that politics can fabricate an earthly paradise in a world which started with original sin.) John Doe, the American, falls from elated optimism into violent despair and for a moment is tempted to accomplish the rash and sensational action: it would be so easy, standing on the roof of the skyscraper, to jump away from earthly imperfections. But he discovers in time the basic theme of America's faith: it is not necessary to have perfection in this world; it is sufficient to continue striving, to continue rising after falling, and the heart of the people, he knows, is with those who lead this struggle for good life together.

This inspirational film analysis is, one will remark, not the summary of the plot, but the expression of the deeper theme which runs through the picture and is not always assimilated by those who see it. A really good film is a mine of ideas, and good ideas must be mined and extracted from their ore if the possibilities of the motion picture industry are ever to be fully exploited.

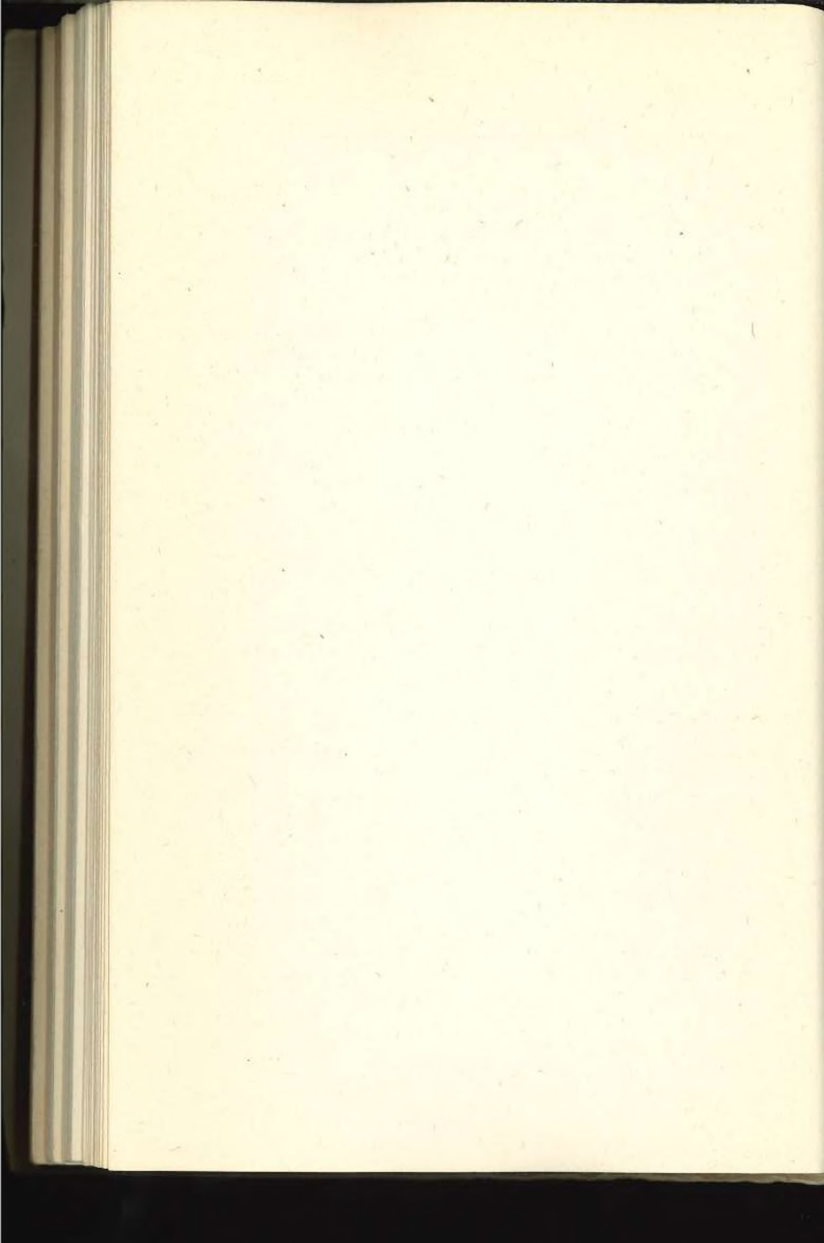
The successful experiences of film analysis will have to be restarted and developed in normal times on a scale commensurate with the diffusion of the film product itself. The DOCIP office had, after

ten years, worked out the essential specializations: the critics who had diverse talents and used a common technique by which they brought out tendencies, the reporters who piled up news items and historical surveys along the same lines, the novelists who dramatized the most inspiring films in short stories or serials for popular papers, the artists who by "photo-montage" or cartoons added visual attraction to the film pages. The fact that more than seventy papers subscribed to DOCIP for their film columns proved that the ideological tendencies had not harmed the commercial and popular value of the work. Besides the work for exclusive or semi-exclusive contracts, the Catholic film press office launched in 1938 the weekly *International Correspondence of DOCIP* providing the essential materials and information in French and in German for all papers which could reprint or translate from these languages. An English edition was envisaged and was to have been discussed with English and American participants at the Catholic International Film Congress of Vienna . . . of which the program came from the press precisely on that March day of 1938 when Hitler marched into the Austrian capital.

When this war is over it is possible that the majority of men will understand that individualistic anarchy invited totalitarian tyranny and that both are mortally dangerous. Democratic unity is necessary in the field of motion pictures. The only formula which can work is the combined action of the Legion of Decency and Production Code Administration or moral self-discipline of the film industry which has now solidly developed in Amer-

ica. This writer had dealt for many years with film producers and agents in Paris, Berlin, Vienna, Budapest, Warsaw, Prague, Brussels, Amsterdam, and found them untractable as long as they did not believe the people wanted decency and higher inspiration. Only small countries such as Belgium and Holland had powerful mass movements to promote better films. French individualism rebelled against the formula of the collective pledge of the Legion of Decency which seemed to them a "regimentation". Germans and others accepted too easily their State censorships. The energy of the American Legion of Decency, the moral minimum Code of the American industry were often called in Europe "puritanical and hypocritical". And yet it is clear now that the American sense of decency and belief in ideals (however hazy these sometimes appear) have withstood the worst tests, and promise the best future. This writer now has talked with leading executives, writers, and actors in Hollywood, with men of experience in the Legion of Decency, and must avow that, realistically speaking, the European efforts to bring collaboration between producers and public have failed, while the success of American film organization and film tradition shows the way for the post-war reconstruction. For America shows two things which are still rare in other countries: the moral unanimity of the film public is answered by the moral self-discipline of the producers. The European and also Latin-American producers will have to learn now or never that self-regulation works better than State regulation. But they must learn also to feel instinctively the real reaction of the John Does of

their country, and then to impose freely upon themselves a proper Production Code Administration which will make them follow the deeper desires of the common man, their steady client. And to make this possible, the Church and all religious bodies will need more than ever their own complete machinery of film press and publicity organizations which can make the real will of the majority the most dynamic force of public opinion.



CHAPTER VII

THE DIALECTICS OF THE TOPICAL QUESTION

The news and feature stories are what might be called the daily bread of the public mind. They influence public opinion as the quality of the nation's food influences the quality of public health.

The operation of the human mind is never exclusively passive nor confined to the absorption of fact and fiction. It is essentially active and creative: after perception comes judgment, reasoning and conclusion, which create a mental attitude and a philosophy of life, of art, of business, of politics, etc., etc. In other words, man differs from animals in that he not only sees and hears but asks questions and discusses answers.

Modern man in general is more critical in temporal questions than the man of the Middle Ages. He asks more questions and accepts stereotyped answers less readily. In Latin countries he discusses heatedly "all questions of earth and heaven and some others". In Anglo-Saxon countries he discusses more calmly, listening fairly to the other fellow, and likes to get down quickly to "brass tacks". But any modern man would feel quite lonely if all his neighbors agreed with him in everything and if he were given no occasions to differ in opinion on many questions. The totali-

tarians have probably made their biggest mistake in trying to make a new order in which contentment and peace would be assured by the suppression of all occasions of disagreement. They might have made a new order of ruminants who can peacefully and contentedly stare "at nothing", but they will never succeed with that funny animal called man, because he is endowed with the inalienable faculty of sacrificing even a good meal to some highly impalpable and unpalatable things called ideas.

The great rule of the Pro Deo Movement is based on these two considerations: *A fact: The people want to discuss topical questions. A conclusion: We take interest in these questions and help to develop the right dialectics which lead to correct answers.*

This approach differs from the teacher's who presents to his pupils the questions he has chosen for his courses and then proceeds to give the answers. This works very well because the students have bound themselves to follow the lessons so as to get a diploma, and will not run away when the question seems to them uninteresting. The Pro Deo Movement aims at being listened to precisely by those who are not students and would not agree to submit to school discipline. The Pro Deo method consists in formulating not the question which a professor of religion or a religious-minded person would pose, but those the common man is posing to himself: the questions of the day, the topical questions.

This method is applied by CIP to cultural, political and social questions which are foremost in the mind of modern man. In these years it is inevitable

that this method be applied most to political questions. The reason is that most of the current topics of discussion concern political matters. There is no escape from this; we are in the century of overbearing State problems and State interference: the political age. The problem is not whether the Church will keep away from politics, but whether politics will keep hands off the Church or will again be allowed to betray, poison or assault religion. The old-time Catholic was often proud to repeat: "I do not go in for politics." The truth was that he was ignorant of politics, that the cleverest intriguers found him the easiest victim who naïvely became a "collaborator" in evil without even remarking the deceit.

This political naïvety and ignorance must be overcome if the lessons of the most impressive quarter of a century are not to be lost. The Christian must go in for politics just far enough to make politics go Christian. Before telling how this can be done, we must prove that it can be done. For the problem is not how to introduce in politics some vague Christian sentiments but how to introduce Christian philosophy in politics.

Is Christian philosophy practical in politics? We must admit that people in this hemisphere, more perhaps than the people of countries with an older cultural tradition, are not favorably impressed by this question. The common man will object instinctively to the very mention of the practicality of philosophy and more still to its introduction into politics. "All those philosophies and ideologies and 'isms' of all sorts," he will exclaim, "are foreign inventions and have made a fine mess of European politics!" Many will object in a hostile way: "Don't

bring any foreign philosophies and 'isms' over here. We have kept our common sense, and that is quite enough for us." Some will stress their point a bit more closely and argue that philosophy is abstract and politics is practical; the mixing of the two will spoil both the philosophy and the politics. The first work of the Pro Deo groups in this field is to note carefully and summarize the arguments of those who do not like philosophy in politics. When we have done this, we have accomplished the first duty of the philosopher, which is to understand the *status quaestionis* and express fairly the objections against the thesis. St. Thomas taught this method to his disciples. He invariably starts the articles of his *Summa* with a list of objections which come from every side. He generally expresses the objections against his thesis much better than the original objector. Mrs. A. M. Brady, Director of the American Center of CIP, rightly said: "I pity the impatient man who would read only the beginning of St. Thomas' articles, for his head would be full of the strongest arguments for the worst heresies." She spoke with experience as a convert who was critical enough to insist on a schooling in Thomistic theology before going in for apostolate.

At this point we may succeed in convincing the anti-scholastic modern man that, at least in its methods, Thomistic philosophy is practical for politics. It teaches us to try to understand the other fellow before arguing with him, and we might add that if politicians were to apply these methods, there would be more peace and constructive work in many parliaments and meetings.

The main job, however, in a constructive dis-

cussion, is to help the other fellow to understand himself. The fact that modern man has many objections against philosophy is a sign of his incurable attraction to philosophy. The more the "practical" man sputters against philosophy, the more right we are in answering him: "There is more philosophy in your ways than you will admit in your words."

Let us see what is behind the affirmation that philosophy is not practical for politics. This statement means that the individual has formed a certain notion of the nature of philosophy and, having also formed a notion about the nature of politics, has seen that these two notions do not fit together. Hence it is our right to ask: "What do you mean by philosophy, and what do you mean by politics?" If the objector refuses to answer or cannot bring out sufficiently the meaning of the terms he is using, then he certainly has to admit that it would have been better for him not to have spoken about philosophy. He certainly has to admit that it is an elementary rule of good behavior in good society to know what we are talking about before we begin talking. In fact, if we gave more care to the preliminary definition of the things we are talking about, we would probably do less talking. The very first reaction of common sense in any discussion is thus the old question of the *definitio nominis*. Define your terms: this is the first step along the road which leads to philosophy. For the process of defining our terms necessarily leads us to make distinctions between essentials and accidentals, which leads to further questions about deeper causes. And this continual demand for better knowledge of

causes is so natural that, ultimately, we cannot hide from ourselves the Aristotelian-Thomistic truth that man is incurably a philosophical animal.

To observe this process in practice, let us take one practical example and analyse the ways of the mind which lead to philosophy. Let us take as our example the reactions to a very spectacular event which was a matter of debate and speculation in all the newspapers of the world: the bombing of Vatican City. The first question raised in the mind was, *what* had really happened: Where had the bombs fallen? How many? Who was killed? What was destroyed? The newspapers answered this question of straight news by collecting all the material evidence they could gather, describing the place where the bombs had fallen, the happy coincidence that nobody was killed, the unhappy destruction in the Vatican Mosaic workshop, etc., etc. But the mind was not satisfied: everyone wanted to know *who* dropped the bombs. So the journalists had to start "editorializing" (in other words, they had to start reasoning). They proved that the Allies had no planes on reconnaissance at that hour and, therefore, the Fascists must have done the bombing. But now a new question arose: *why* did they do it? They did it to deceive the Italians, to make them believe that the Anglo-Saxon powers want to destroy Catholic culture. Yes, but *why* should they have gone so far in deceit and in terrorism when they claimed so clearly in the beginning of their regime that they were going to save their people in a totalitarian and absolute manner from all exploitation? The current question here pops up again: *what precisely* is Fascism?

What internal principles lead it to prefer war to peace and to gradually throw off all moral restraints? And here the mind is not satisfied until the deeper why has been given, until it becomes clear that Fascism is a political theory which makes of the national State the absolute value; thus, logically, makes of every citizen in the State an instrument of the rulers of the State; thus, logically, refuses to recognize the rights of other States; thus, logically, denies the binding value of any moral law which is by nature independent of the material might of the State. In reflecting further along the same lines the ultimate principle becomes clear: only the recognition of the spiritual nature of man and of his direct dependence upon God can provide the basis for a non-totalitarian order.

This extremely condensed sketch of the reflections raised by a striking event has brought us more or less explicitly into three fields of philosophy: 1) We have ascended from the effect (the bombing) to its efficient cause (the Fascists) and to its final cause: deceit. We have then been obliged to define the nature of Fascism and its anti-ethical aspects. In other words, we have been engaging in philosophy of politics. 2) We have found that the philosophy of politics depends on the principles of a higher and more general philosophy. We had to clarify our notions about the nature of man and the supremacy of his spiritual soul over all other earthly things, including the State. Here we are fully in the problems of the philosophy of general ethics, the science of the aims and means of human action, and of the philosophy of psychology, the science of the nature of man. 3) But we have not been able

to avoid posing the question of the *absolute*, seeing that ultimately Fascism has tried to attribute to the State absolute authority, which is to be found only in the uncreated Source of all being. Thus we have been pushing forward into the realms of the highest philosophy, into metaphysics, the science of the most general concept of being, and, more specifically, into the field of natural theology, the science of the ultimate cause, God.

Through this little excursion of the spirit we have shown that philosophy is not a dead science buried in the old books which are read only by professors, but that, on the contrary, it is the very life of the human mind. The natural desire which drives the mind forward is the thirst for the knowledge of the deeper causes of things. This "knowledge of the deeper causes of things" is the very definition of philosophy. This natural desire of the human mind is the desire for philosophy.

Once we have agreed on a commonly acceptable meaning of the word "philosophy", we have to consider the word "politics". The word "politics" does not have a very sympathetic connotation at first impression. When speaking of politics we are tempted to visualize the Republicans fighting the Democrats in the House of Representatives. When we reflect, however, we soon discover that citizens do not elect Republicans or Democrats with the purpose of having spectacular fights in our Representative chambers. We realize that the primary aim in electing them is to have them make in our name efficient laws which realize the common good.

We thus recognize that the word "politics" designates essentially a special virtue of statesmen, a

permanent disposition which makes them capable of achieving the common good of the people. A statesman (Bismarck) has defined politics as *l'art du possible*. The old scholastic philosophy speaks more adequately when it defines politics, primarily, as *virtus regnativa* or the virtue of prudence in choosing means adapted to the public welfare and, secondarily, as *justitia legalis*, the virtue of justice in executing the plans which further the common good.

After these clarifications of the terms we are so commonly using, it becomes evident that we need more than ever a sound philosophy for modern politics. When we claim that philosophy is practical in politics, we mean that philosophy is necessary to achieve adequate and thus lasting results in politics. Although we all admit that Hitler certainly had a genius for getting things done in Germany, we would not say that he is a good politician because we know that, considering the nature of man, the things he has achieved are not good for man and cannot be of lasting value. So when we use the word "practical" in politics, we mean practical because they are conducive to the real and not to the imaginary good of the people. It thus becomes clear that the first condition for good politics is to *know* what we want to see realized in society, in other words to know the aims of the State and, in connection with this, to make up our minds on the principles of authority and on the principles which must direct the structure of the State and its essential activities. In other words, the first condition necessary to have good politics is to have a good philosophy of politics (philosophy of State).

More and more, the common man is becoming convinced that somehow we must find a coherent philosophy for our democracy. The war has destroyed the peace of mind of the man on the street. He feels that the old order which seemed so solid is gone forever and that a more permanent basis must be found on which to build a better society. He cannot help philosophizing when he ceases to repeat like a parrot what others have said, and starts to open his mind to reality. The difference between the philosophizing man on the street and the philosopher is only the difference between the casual effort of intermittent thought and the hard work of reflection which achieves clear and solid syntheses. Hamilton, one of the Founding Fathers of the United States, has stated in the *Federalist Papers* that the tragedy of our times is that "men do not give their own understanding fair play". It is the work of the philosopher to give his own mind fair play, to exert persevering efforts until the more or less self-evident truths have found their exact place in a coherent whole. It is because of this that the philosophy of St. Thomas has rightly been called the philosophy of common sense. In Thomism the truths presented by the common sense of the common man are accepted and clarified; no philosophical fantasies are wound around them, but the philosophy which is in them is gradually reduced to its deepest and most universal principles. Maritain said, at a recent CIP Forum on France, that the ideology of the French Revolution consisted of some truths which had been allowed to go mad and of some errors which had been allowed to carry some truth. The work of the Thomist philos-

opher of modern times is to find the soul of truth in the great movements which are shaping our post-war world, to apply the principle of St. Paul: "Omnia considerate, quod bonum est tenete." We can translate this: "Be not afraid to go in for the popular ideas which move the people, but apply your powers of discrimination to assimilate only what is sound and to create order of the truths which are running loose in public opinion." This wisdom, slowly and imperturbably growing out of the contact of the *philosophia perennis* with living and thinking humanity, is the dynamic vision, the driving philosophy, which the world needs now more than ever.

§ 1. THE DIALECTICS OF THE ARTICLE

In Europe and Latin America the people generally do not have the same fear of abstract notions as in America. Outside America the *article de fond*, or leading feature, is still carried on the front page and often fills two columns. Generally it does not even use a news-peg to catch the attention of readers but starts straightway arguing pro or contra some thesis which is not necessarily linked with current questions. There are still editorial writers of the old style who have their following, not because they are better informed or know the "inside story", but because they write with sharp logic using a beautifully expressive style.

It would be an illusion, however, to think that this intellectual taste is likely to grow in the general public or that it will even maintain itself. The latest

surveys show, in fact, that the percentage of newspaper readers who regularly peruse their editorials is steadily diminishing. It has, in some cases, gone down well under 20%. This is a natural and inevitable result of the accelerated rhythm of life in our times: there is more haste to finish breakfast, there is more noise in streets and trolley-cars, there is more material to read, and more people are feeling that, to be up to date, they have to read the latest news as it is printed. The American press has adapted itself more completely to this mentality than the press in Europe. The Pro Deo Movement combines the European intellectualism with the American realism: it holds that press features must be short, sharply outlined, and practically connected with the news. This is not to deny that the intellectual level of the public must be raised through the press. But the first condition for raising a man's intellectual level is to get close to him. Therefore, the first thing to achieve by an article is to get the article read by the many.

The Catholic press services of Breda-Brussels have, from the beginning, avoided all wordy or abstract articles but have made their feature services a kind of expansion of their news services. News inevitably raises questions: the features are designed to answer those questions. This policy of keeping close to the news and starting the reasoning process from facts, not from theories, made of the European CP features an instrument not without effect on public opinion. The CP articles were generally so well informed that, by holding the readers' interest through factual coverage, questions could be introduced and principles explained.

Out of the Spanish war (CP had correspondents on both sides), the French political scandals, the Yugoslav Concordat question, the Russo-German developments, burning interest was created in many important issues and this gave the necessary impetus to the dialectics which explain deeper causes.

The most brilliant weekly columnist of CP was certainly the famous Friedrich Muckermann, S.J. who, after the suppression of his agencies by Hitler in 1934, specialized in unmasking the diabolic principles behind the Nazi maneuvers.

One anecdote marks how the CP features were certainly very attentively read in the most diverse milieux. In December, 1939, CP had released a feature concerning the suicide of the captain of the German battleship "Graf von Spee", sunk near Montevideo. After giving some little-known details regarding the captain's situation, the feature had, by leading up to the principle that life is a duty towards God, shown up the arguments given by the German press to present the suicide as a heroic deed. When this feature had been published in the *Luxemburger Wort*, the German Minister communicated to the Luxembourg Government that all delivery of coke would be stopped so long as the paper which had "offended the German honor" was not suspended. The matter was subsequently straightened out by proving that the same article had been published in quite a number of other countries and could thus not constitute a German-Luxembourg incident. But it became clear that some all-too-well-informed circles thought that the methods used by the CP features were not without effect.

As the CP service grew, the method of applying Thomistic dialectics to current events was steadily developed. The necessity of training dynamic groups of Christian journalists in these techniques became evident to the leaders of the lay apostolate. In the schools of Catholic Action and of social action, regular courses in these methods of journalism were instituted.

When the work was reorganized in Lisbon and CIP set up the American Centers, the characteristic of its interpretative service for leaders of public opinion, *CIP Correspondence*, consisted, from the beginning, in a severe application of Thomistic dialectics. The CP services in Europe had occasionally sent to the editors of its most important subscriber-papers detailed notes regarding certain matters which had to be treated with exceptional care and knowledge of the whole background. Knowing that orientation of writers and editors is, in the long run, as effective as direct publication, CIP shaped its first U.S. service, the *Correspondence*, so that it could furnish editorial writers and other leaders of public opinion, in a minimum of reading time, a maximum of information and interpretation. This service differs in method from the daily news releases made directly for the press. Instead of following the significant events from day to day, CIP chooses for its semi-monthly *Correspondence* those significant developments which cannot be judged without solid reflection. Next to the longer news interpretation, there is in each issue a two-hundred word synthesis *In a Nutshell*. But the feature which has undoubtedly created the most encouraging reactions is the *CIP Question-Box*.

The technique of this application of Thomist dialectics is based on the observation of the questions raised by current events which are foremost in the public mind, and are centers of dispute. CIP always formulates the question sharply so as to attract the attention of all who, in one way or another, have been stirred by the controversy. Instead of choosing sides immediately, it generally first distinguishes the different opinions and formulates the arguments for those opinions with brevity and clarity. After this summary of the *status quaestionis*, the applications of the essential principles which rule the problem under discussion are expressed in three or four comprehensive theses. Each of these theses is then proved in its different points. The theses are so constructed that the first generally calls for the second, and so on: gradually delving deeper, from the immediate to the fundamental causes. This strictly scholastic discipline in political affairs first created a certain surprise. But the surprise soon developed into a peculiar satisfaction of the mind. Readers of the *Correspondence* summarized their impressions as follows: "Thomism may be a very difficult procedure in the abstract philosophical field, but it certainly works well in politics." This is one more sign of the fact that scholastic discipline is the natural discipline of the human mind and that the syllogism is the natural way in which the reason proceeds. The dialectical materialism of Marx, although it has not withstood the test of time, lacking correspondence with the deeper urges of the human mind, obtained a fleeting success by the very rigidity of its intellectual discipline. Bad dialectics cannot be overcome by a flight from di-

alectics, but only the revival of the sound dialectics of the great Aristotelian-Thomistic tradition. For this reason, further applications of the rules which are being worked out in the *Methodology Pro Deo* are bound to be of increasing value in the ideological battles of the times to come.

§ 2. THE DIALECTICS OF THE FORUM

The spoken word has one advantage over the written word: it more easily provokes the mind to active participation in collective intellectual work. The re-education of leading circles and of the masses in the use of strictly logical methods necessary for the clarification of the spiritual principles involved in current questions will thus depend for a good part on the organization of divers kinds of meetings.

In Europe, the techniques of forum, round-table and panel discussion are not so thoroughly developed as in America. Curiously enough, the cells of Catholic Action were next to those of Communism among the pioneers of this discussion technique in a number of countries on the old continent, developing active participation of the members, according to some kind of round-table formula. For mass meetings in Europe, the straight discourses without discussion from the floor are still the most current. When organizers direct active contact between speakers and public, they announce: a "contradictory meeting". This invitation to contradiction often creates more passion than clarity, but this danger can be overcome if the speakers have been

trained in the right dialectics. The basic rule remains: to find the precise point of agreement from which further discussion can be constructively developed. There are so many points where Christian doctrine and popular feeling are in accord that generally a twist can be found to bring some agreement through clarity even into a tumultuous meeting. One little anecdote from personal experience may make this clear. In the Pro Deo campaign against the Communist propaganda of the "outstretched hand to the Catholics", this writer, having missed a train, arrived late at Alost (East Flanders) where he was scheduled to speak. He found the meeting in a complete turmoil with not only voices but chairs raised passionately to lend force to the arguments against Catholics: the local Communist group had infiltrated the meeting and was making the most of having found the principal speaker not there. Instead of trying to start the lecture as prepared, this writer simply asked the Communists what they thought about the following declarations against: "The heavy heritage of an unjust economic regime whose ruinous influence has been felt through many generations . . . Private property, so often used as a weapon to defraud the working-man of his just salary and his social rights . . . Rich men, weep and howl in your miseries which shall come upon you: your riches are corrupted." This theme immediately elicited popular agreement, and the Communist leader, quite surprised, said that these quotations seemed to be in the authentic party-line. From then on, it was not difficult to lead the audience on to more interesting conclusions. The social-minded quotations were proved to be

parts from the Encyclical *Divini Redemptoris*, and the speaker stressed that Christians, not less than Communists, are obliged by their faith to combat social injustice, with this difference: while Marx and Lenin promised an artificial paradise on earth, Christ made it clear that the perfect paradise was in heaven. The Communist hecklers, at first stunned, soon regained their power of invective, but admitted that "if all Catholics thought as the Pope, they would be all right".

The Pro Deo Movement started only in 1943 to organize forums in this hemisphere. In line with the methods of the *Correspondence*, the first CIP Forums have been dedicated to the clarification, according to Thomistic principles and methods, of current questions. Although the period of experimentation is not finished, a specific technique has already taken shape and obtained results. As in other forums, different aspects of the subject presented for discussion are introduced by speakers of renown (generally not more than two). But the distinctive character of the CIP Forum is created by the fact that, after the introduction, the chairman asks a specialist to be leader of the discussion so as to summarize the arguments, to formulate the questions logically raised, and to bring about the clarification of the principles involved. This is the point where a Thomistically trained Pro Deo collaborator can prove that the *circulus scholasticus*, or the method of sharp distinctions and orderly procedure from commonly-accepted premises to reasoned conclusions, is adaptable to the most modern subjects. The public is fairly warned beforehand that constructive results can be obtained

by the exercise of intellectual discipline. This means, in the first place, keeping within the limits of the different questions and within the time allotted for each point to be discussed. This old, old procedure at first seems unnecessarily novel, but as the meeting progresses and the remarks are coordinated by putting each in its place with regard to the whole, the public begins to feel that this may lead further than the usual free-for-all discussions. Although at each stage the conclusions reached are re-formulated with increasing clarity, the final impression is that important avenues of thought have been opened and that the matter must be pursued more systematically. This impression is, perhaps, the best result. For a forum cannot be more than a spiritual shake-up which brings the participants to intensified personal efforts of reflection. For this reason, the fundamental theses which, to be understood, need closer study are sent to the participants before the forum meeting. A summary of the conclusions, sent after the meeting, shows that the effort had positive results. The participants receive from time to time renewed invitations for further constructive comments, oral or written. This living work, the application of necessary principles to contingent matters, is essentially a collective undertaking and will require a long period of ever broadening cooperation. Nevertheless, it seems not to be an illusion to think that the interest of the public in the burning questions of the day can be channeled into more enduring and better balanced conclusions by a systematic revival of Aristotelian-Thomistic dialectics.

The aim of the CIP Forums, as of all other Pro

Deo activities, is to reestablish Christian principles in the secular mind. Hence, the problem is to attract a public which would not be attracted by discussion of religious principles. This makes the question of approach extremely important. The two main methods of approach are based on the *appeal of controversy* and the *appeal of sympathy*.

According to the first method, CIP chooses a concrete question which will most easily bring together leaders of public opinion who have taken a definite stand and want to defend their pro or contra position. The procedure of these forums is to bring the participants to see that, in spite of their opposition on contingent matters, agreement on fundamental principles is not excluded. So, for instance, a CIP Forum poses the question: "Must Germany be divided?" In New York, such famous men as Professor Foerster and Emil Ludwig defended dismemberment, while Prinz zu Loewenstein opposed it, and Professor Goetz Briefs maintained a middle position. This debate on the means of counteracting future German aggressions quite naturally gave rise to the question: "What are the causes of aggression?" While participants such as the German socialist leader Rosenfeld (former Minister of Justice in Prussia) insisted that the causes were socio-economic, Sigrid Undset, in a magnificent intervention, proved that the deeper causes were psychological, and ultimately spiritual. And so quite naturally the discussion progressed to where spiritual re-education and reliance on the work of religious organizations were stressed and generally accepted as more important than purely political remedies. Similar techniques were

applied to Italian, French and Russian questions, and are applicable to many problems which, superficially, may seem not to allow a discussion of principles.

A second kind of forum uses a quite different, and in a certain sense, more effective approach: the *appeal of sympathy*. In this case, the question is directly connected with some theme which has the enthusiastic support of the public, and leaders of public opinion are easily brought together because they know the discussion will clarify some essential point of the cause they wish to defend. This formula is applied in the forums "for the clarification of the fundamentals of democracy".

After two years of consultation and research, the cooperators of the INTERCIP Research Bureau have condensed into twelve theses what seem to be the basic principles held in common by all who favor "government for the people, of the people, by the people" and, at least passively, accept morality and religion as the basis of democracy. The effort to express in comprehensive theses the contents of democracy which are warmly defended but not always clearly grasped, gradually creates a keen desire to participate in the discussion and clarification of principles. For each forum, one, or a maximum of two, of the "fundamentals" of democracy are chosen for discussion. So, for instance, in the CIP Forum at Washington, Father Wilfred Parsons, S.J., introduced the discussion of the fundamental principle of economic democracy: the necessary subordination of the profit-motive to the common good of the people, and this led a very mixed audience to understand how the progressive social

principles of the Church clarified one of the fundamentals of modern democracy. Assistant Secretary of State, Adolf Berle, introduced the discussion on the field of "constitutional democracy: the checking of the laws by the people". Mr. Berle stressed that the ultimate checking power of laws was to be found in the American tradition of kindness and tolerance which has a religious basis: love of God and neighbor. The discussion showed that this conception coincided with the Thomistic concept of the primacy of natural law (which is nothing but "the law written in the heart of man") over statutory law (called positive law in Catholic terminology).

These Pro Deo techniques have been most fruitfully developed up to now in round-tables of five to twelve persons where a thorough thrashing out of the subject is possible. The examples noted above were worked out in forums restricted by invitation to 50 or 100 prominent persons. In panel discussions, in which three to six specialists discuss a subject before an audience of 200 to 1,000, the CIP methods can also be successfully applied, as was proved in Los Angeles. The Pro Deo "fundamentals" and methods can also be used successfully (for instance, in New Orleans) for series of forums where only one introductory speech is used to bring from the floor the discussion of some sharply-formulated theses.

These experiences, prompted by the tradition, so strong in America, of giving the other fellow a fair hearing, have proved that a pioneering drive of Pro Deo Forums can help crystallize sound currents of thought. A systematic effort to introduce this

eminently social way of teaching will be of importance also in the soon-to-be-liberated countries.

§ 3. THE DIALECTICS OF THE STUDY COURSE

The questions raised in the CIP features and CIP Forums offer more occasions for sharp analyses than for comprehensive syntheses. They bring up and clarify the main principles which must underlie sound politics, but cannot tie them up in their proper order. And so a more systematic approach has been devised to rebuild the philosophy behind politics. This is the *CIP Course on Politics: Philosophy and Practice*. There are four sections of the Thomistic philosophy of State, which are absolutely essential for the creation of a sound basis for post-war reconstruction. First, the nature and aims of the State must be made clear in their full hierarchy of values. Second, the nature, source and prerequisites of authority must be defined. Third, the principles of good government must be coordinated. Fourth, the very notion of world society, connoting the connatural rights of the States and presupposing God as the ultimate basis of natural law, must be clarified. These questions are now more important than ever before, because man's dependence on the State and the dependence of each State on international collaboration have increased immensely. The balanced answers to these questions have been sketched in part by Aristotle and Cicero, developed and deepened by St. Thomas, and coordinated by Francisco de Vitoria, O.P.,

followed by Suarez, S.J. and Bellarmine, S.J., in a magnificent system of thought that made the modern Western tradition underlying democratic ideals and international law.

Professor Paul Edouard de Rooy, O.P., one of the leading authorities of the Thomistic school who, for twenty years, taught political philosophy at the Papal Institute "Angelicum", Rome, and during the war continued certain of his lessons in Lisbon, Quebec and New York, has worked out this philosophical synthesis in a very comprehensible form.

A straight philosophical course would, however, have attracted only those minds which are won for the principles in question. CIP has devised another approach for the penetration of these principles into circles which are deeply interested in politics, but not sufficiently in philosophy. For each lesson, CIP found a specialist to apply the philosophical notions, distinctions and arguments to some practical problem or situation.

So, for instance, a lecture by Professor A. Mendizabal (former Professor of Philosophy of Law, University of Oviedo, Spain, well-known writer, and now at the New School for Social Research, New York), explaining anarchism and phalangism, attracted a public interested in the Spanish question. This lecture was the application, to the problems of Spanish individualism and Fascism, of the philosophical principles on *The Citizen as Part of the State* explained by Fr. de Rooy.

A lecture by Professor Paul Vignaux (formerly Professor at the Sorbonne, now at the Ecole Libre des Hautes Etudes, New York) applied to French

tradition of popular sovereignty the philosophical principles on *The Sources of Authority*.

A lecture by Professor Dietrich von Hildebrand (former Professor of Philosophy at Universities in Munich, Vienna and Toulouse, and now at Fordham) applied to an Austrian statesman the philosophical principles on *Christian Statesmanship*.

A lecture by the Reverend F. X. Millar, S.J. (Professor of Philosophy, Fordham Graduate School) applied to the United States the lessons on the principles which secure the good functioning of government. Etc., etc.

The publicity for the Course and for each section in particular was thus predicated on the appeal of the concrete political questions to be discussed, and on the fame and authority of the lecturers. In fact, those who subscribe to the Course soon discover how the lecture on the practical subject is only a test application of the principles expounded by the Thomist professor. The practice in this way leads to philosophy. The taste for philosophico-theological synthesis, so prevalent in the Middle Ages, can be revived in the many circles still profoundly ignorant of Christian philosophy. It is heartening to witness how, sooner than expected, a genuine enthusiasm is created for the *Summa* of St. Thomas Aquinas, when practical men have discovered by striking application how these principles bring order and common sense into politics.

The formation of an elite schooled in the Thomistic philosophy of State is a difficult task, but a heartening one. Following first echoes of the New York experiment, information was requested from the most diverse sides, regarding the organization

of the CIP Courses in other cities. The New York Center and afterwards the Ottawa Center soon made the *CIP Course in Politics: Philosophy and Practice*, a special publication, furnishing the complete texts for the local professor and the outlines of each lecture for distribution to the students so that they may follow and learn the principles more easily. The CIP Course is ready for use in several key cities of North and South America, as a training course for laymen who wish to know thoroughly the principles they have to defend in public life. This course is always applied to practice not only by the aforementioned kind of lectures, but also by practice-forums, which are a training in the specific methods of leading discussions or participating in them through constructive interventions. The over-emphasis of clerical leadership in the discussion of principles can be gradually remedied in this way. Indubitably this creation of ideological lay leadership of the people must be envisaged as a long-range program. Yet, if this formula is put into practice all over the country, and in many countries, then this collective effort may have an immense influence on the fate of the masses. For never have so many depended on the measure of light developed by so few.

CHAPTER VIII

THE CULTIVATION OF TRADITION

After this war, against the most systematic effort in history to make of might the only right, there are good chances that principles of right may be considered dynamic and practical in politics. For the construction of a lasting international order, a coherent philosophy of natural law is a more important requisite than the knowledge of the laws of ethnics and economics. For this reason the Pro Deo Movement is now devoting much of its energies to the clarification of the principles of the Thomistic philosophy of State, through its *CIP Question Box, Forums, and Course on Politics*. And yet, Christian philosophy, even when linked to topical questions, reaches only an elite among those with genuine intellectual curiosity. Most leaders in politics, as well as in business, prefer action to abstraction. It is doubtful if even five per cent of the Representatives and Senators could give a coherent definition of the common good, the aim of politics, which is their primary business. *A fortiori* this is true for the masses who cannot be expected to study the deeper causes of things and will not live or die for a philosophy. And so we seem to be faced by a dilemma: how can Christian philosophy be a driving force when it is above the grasp of the people and far from their heart?

This dilemma has been overcome not by exhortations of ever increasing numbers of professors of philosophy but by what we might call the incarnation of philosophy in the life of the people: in other words, by tradition. Peoples as a whole come to acquire certain ways of doing or not doing certain things, to hold certain convictions regarding definite values not to be surrendered at any price. This is tradition. These customs animated by ideas become second nature, the most permanent and quasi-indestructible force in the life of a nation. They are not uprooted by storms nor swept away by counter-currents. They are carried, basically unchanged, from generation to generation. The fundamental question which must be answered to determine the attitude of one nation towards another nation is not mainly whether the nation has good rulers or, even, whether it has a good regime, but, primarily, whether it does have a good tradition.

§ 1. THE BIRTH OF A TRADITION

St. Paul gives the clue to the explanation of all lasting trends in human life when he speaks about "the law which is written in the hearts of men". Each reasonable being is conscious of what should be done and what should be omitted. He also knows that the moral laws he recognizes postulate some power higher than man. This voice of conscience, called natural law by Christian philosophers, is inarticulate in the mind of the common man. Great thinkers in all nations have felt compelled to artic-

ulate comprehensive answers to vital questions of conscience regarding the aim of life and the norms of action. A national tradition is born when one such system of thought striking deeply into the mind of the people becomes a common belief through generations.

So in China the system taught by K'ung Futsze to his disciples has percolated slowly through the Chinese masses so that Confucianism is still now the key to particular ways of life and thought of this nation. So, too, the union of Greek philosophy and Roman law created the basic traditions of the West, which live in most European and American peoples.

The stabilized results of the creative work of human reason, answering the appeal of conscience, cannot explain however what we call Western culture and tradition. The efforts of the greatest minds culminate in the question: "What is the nature of the great Unknown and what are His relations with man?" There can be no real tradition without an element of religion because only religion (the answer of God to man's deepest question) gives that touch of extra-temporal definitiveness which makes a spiritual heritage worthy of being handed down from father to son, throughout generations. The Judeo-Christian revelation constitutes the core of the present tradition of the major part of mankind and is shared, more or less implicitly, by Mohammedan and Asiatic peoples.

Out of these elements of philosophy and revealed faith, civilized peoples have evolved traditions, with different national characteristics. Tradition, however, never rests on its achievements. It is a living

force which assimilates the basic thought of each century and grows stronger or feebler as a result of this assimilation. Tradition must be cultivated intelligently to increase in quality. If not, it can deteriorate and gradually be dominated by ideas contrary to its initial inspiration. In certain critical periods of history, principles, which first found their way only in philosophical books and pamphlets, suddenly became the spark setting off a revolutionary explosion and liberating a mighty popular current that transformed traditional ways of life — for better or for worse. To make clear the nature of this phenomenon, we will sketch the birth of three typical political traditions.

First, the phenomenon of a modern synthesis of Christian philosophy carried as a creative force in the life of a new nation and in the structure of a new kind of State: the tradition of the American Revolution. Second, the phenomenon of a creative impulse divided within itself through a sterile rationalistic philosophy: the tradition of the French Revolution. Third, the significant example of a basically destructive force launched to supersede the whole Christian tradition of the West: the tradition of German nationalism.

The American Revolution is an exceptional phenomenon. As early as 1763, the leading colonial gentlemen had sufficient reason to be dissatisfied with the state of things. King George the Third was a stubborn and slightly stupid gentleman who insisted on taxing the Colonies of America without according them the representation granted by their charters. He did not give in to just complaints and went further and further in exploiting the new

world Colonies for the good of the old English ruling class. The colonial gentlemen could have done what had been done so often before: start shooting immediately. They could have made an impulsive and violent revolution which probably would have led to a new dictatorship and then to a new revolution. That had happened before and it could happen again. Curiously enough, before deciding to start shooting, the colonists started thinking. Before becoming revolutionaries they became philosophers. As Protestants, they had broken with the ecclesiastical discipline of Rome, but as cultured gentlemen they had been educated in the unbroken tradition of Christian philosophy. Instead of breaking with their past, they delved deeper into the soundest Christian tradition and for thirteen years they met and corresponded to clarify their ideas about principles... which would lead them to found a new kind of State. They studied the reasons why men are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and why governments derive their just power not from the "divine" right of kings but from the consent of the governed. They brought to a logical conclusion the new ideological trend of the Whigs who, in the land of their fathers, had been combating the reactionary Tories. They knew the Whigs were accused of being disguised Papists because they followed in their struggle for the rights of the people the doctrine of Cardinal Bellarmine which was based on the principles of St. Thomas Aquinas. So the colonists carefully avoided mentioning their sources. But these truths which they called "self-evident" were the shot heard round the world. The

American Declaration of Independence is, together with the *Virginia Bill of Rights* and the *Federalist Papers*, the greatest achievement of political philosophy in modern times. The achievement of the Founding Fathers of America is more than mere democracy. It is more than politics and more even than philosophy. It is a coherent system of thought which is founded on moral and theological principles. The aim of the State is clearly expressed and the equality of man is considered from the higher angle of man's creation by God. The authority of the government is not subjected to the rule of the mob, but Jefferson makes it quite clear that the will of the majority, "to be right, must be reasonable" and must, consequently, obey the "laws of Nature and of Nature's God". Although all human things are relative, every honest man admits that the American philosophy of politics, which made the first great democratic nation, has worked exceptionally well. Many Americans may have forgotten the philosophy of their Founding Fathers, and some University professors have, during the last two generations, worked hard to undermine it, but the American masses still respond wholeheartedly when these principles are presented to them. They are now waging a new war, not for material interests, but ultimately to defend the basis of their way of life. Americans perhaps are not philosophers, but sound Christian philosophy of State is a living thing in their tradition. It is the unity of the Nation around these great ideas which has saved the United States of America from the catastrophic upheavals that have marked the modern history of other nations.

The history of French democracy is a typical example of successive catastrophes brought about because a rightful revolution of the people was not inspired by the right philosophy. In France much more than in America, the autocracy of royalty, the exploitation of the masses by nobility and by some unworthy higher clergy, had brought about deep reactions of the masses. A revolution was bound to come. The revolution came. The masses seized power in a great and noble surge for liberty. But their leaders soon established terror in the name of liberty. The first great continental democracy soon produced the first great continental dictatorship of Napoleon, and following that, a revival of reactionary royalism. And revolution had to overcome revolution. The Second Republic succeeded the First. The Third Republic succeeded the second Napoleonic Empire. And now the Fourth Republic will soon have to be built on the ruins of the semi-Fascist Pétain regime. Why did this happen? The disruptive principle was not the mighty current towards "liberty, equality, fraternity" in the French people. In fact, this clamor of French democracy was the force that awakened most nations of Europe and Latin America from dangerous passivity and is, as Maritain has shown, fundamentally of Christian inspiration. The disruptive force of French democracy was Rousseauvian Philosophy. The founding fathers of the French Republic were in the majority Christians, but they did not know how to apply Christianity to political progress. In their opposition to the clerico-authoritarian old regime, they accepted that a Jacobinic minority should impose upon them the

break with Church discipline and also with the Christian tradition of France. The French *Declaration of the Rights of Man*, which is sound in its expression of the desire for *liberty, prosperity, security and resistance to oppression*, is partly vitiated by the Rousseauvian principle of the *general will*. This Rousseauvian principle is mortal not only to order in society, but to the very existence of democracy. Rousseau drew the logical conclusions from his principles when, in his *Contrat Social*, he opposed representative government and denied all rights to the minority, stating that the individual citizen surrendered his will to the general will of the State. The lack of authority and continuity of the different French Republics can be traced to this ideological opposition between the Rousseauvian philosophy of the *general will* and the popular Christian traditions of France. The French have proved to be a great people, but French democracy has suffered its reverses because of its lack of a sound modern philosophy of State rooted in its ancient Christian tradition.

The recent history of Germany proves beyond doubt how dangerous it is for the world to allow basically evil principles to take root in a people and to develop into a predominant tradition. The German people have had their great periods in history when they were the central unit of a new "Roman Empire" headed by Christian princes. Even now, the individual Germans are not necessarily worse than nationals of any other country. But, for a century, pagan nationalism has dominated more and more the collective mind of the German masses. German nationalism is, above all,

racial consciousness and a racial superiority complex. It differs radically from French, English and American national sentiments, which are based on a heritage of culture and a civic loyalty much more than on any affinity of blood. In the beginning, German nationalism seemed only a harmless romantic idealization of patriotism. It soon developed into the tribal pride of "Deutschtum". This nationalism, systematically fostered by the Prussian junkers, militarist class and economic imperialists, and Hegelian and Nietzschean philosophy, has brought about in the masses the contradictory German Fatherland-complex which is subservient towards German masters and aggressive towards foreign peoples. This paradox was drastically expressed by Sigrid Undset at the CIP Forum on Germany: "The German people seem to have a morbid desire for being bossed — and for bossing others, for being trampled on and for trampling upon those who happen to be weaker than they are."

Ninety-five percent of Germans are nominally Christians and many have applied norms of decency to their personal lives. But when men such as Bismarck, William II and Hitler cleverly launched the bogies of encirclement, need for expansion, etc., their national passion made most forget their Christian principles. The majority surrendered its will to a dynamic minority. The principle of racialism infused in the soul of the German people has created permanent dispositions — an evil national tradition now so strong that it has overcome and will again overcome other tendencies so long as it is not drastically uprooted.

§ 2. THE PATTERNS OF TRADITION

The INTERCIP Research Bureau was established mainly to examine and help develop the patterns of good traditions. It was established in New York (1942) soon after the starting of the news services at the American Center. The international clearing-house of information remains, for the duration, at Lisbon where some news channels of the network of Breda-Brussels have been re-established and new ones opened. But the study of the ideological post-war problems demanded a distinct organization, and New York proved to be the best center for this. There is perhaps not a city in the world where so many leading minds from so many nations are so easily brought together. New York, in fact, occupies in war-time a position of international intellectual metropolis, similar to the position formerly occupied by Paris. London, although also a focal point of refugee culture, has not enjoyed equal opportunities for contact and research.

The method applied in the research activities of the Pro Deo Movement has been to start, not with the formulation of some abstract principles, but with the study of the life history of various key nations. Pro Deo seeks out the leading ideas in the living tradition of each nation. Similar ideas, expressed differently and developed with more or less emphasis, were found to be animating the currents of thought, the political movements, and, more deeply still, the customs and ways of life of the different nations examined.

The oldest idea in the political tradition of the West seems to be the claim for protection from fear, for protection of the basic right to life. The ideas of the right to political liberty and equality, of popular sovereignty and government by the consent of the people, of the right to economic welfare or freedom from want, became dominating themes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. And the ideas of the primacy of the dignity of man and of international fraternity, both directly founded on decency and religion, seem to have come, as predominant themes, out of this world war. These political and human ideas, growing freely or in spite of terrible obstructions, in the life of all nations are of more vital importance to the future than all declarations, treaties or constitutions.

The basic work of the INTERCIP Research Bureau during the first two years of its existence has been to coordinate these ideas, which are living in the tradition of the peoples, into a coherent whole. Four great patterns which have come forth from the four great revolutions of the last two centuries will be important in the post-war era: the American (which is in the line of the British tradition), the French, the Chinese and the Russian. The Russian pattern (of the 1917 revolution) has been vitiated from the beginning by an extraneous and antiquated philosophy of historical materialism and, having evolved from sectarian Communism into a form of State Socialism, is now still in the throes of evolution through the impact of stubborn Russian nationalism intermingled with thousand-year old Christian tradition. The Chinese

pattern of "the three principles of the people" (San Min Chu I) of Sun Yat Sen (revolution of 1911) is a combination of the French and American patterns with some specific Eastern characteristics. The pattern of the French revolution of 1789 has shaped most European and Latin-American democracies. Although contradictory principles of Encyclopedist and Rousseauvian philosophy have hindered its development, it is inspired by the profoundly noble sentiments of "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity". The American pattern is, without any doubt, ideologically the soundest general structure, and its system of checks and balances has given it the best guarantees of continuity. That is why, in noting the main themes of sound political tradition in various nations, it was found that these fit perfectly into the general lines of thought of the Founding Fathers of the United States of America. These lines remained unchanged and reached new development through the Lincoln era up to the present day. On some points the traditions of other nations have been more explicit and add valuable elements. The result of the coordination is a synthesis which INTERCIP has published in the sixth issue of *CIP Forum* with comments by noted specialists. This synthesis, called *Fundamentals of Democracy*, is presented as the basis for further study and for action to unite sound forces in public opinion.

One great advantage of this pattern is that it calls, in its first section — *Government for the People* — for the clear expression of the aims before determining the means. These aims which are the common good of all citizens, are most con-

veniently enumerated if we start with the more material aims and progressively ascend to the more spiritual ones. CIP has thus formulated the first six fundamentals of democracy logically : 1) protection of life (freedom from fear or physical security); 2) the furthering of a decent standard of living (freedom from want, or economic security); 3) the furthering of equality of opportunity (or freedom from discrimination); 4) protection of liberty of expression; 5) protection of liberty of action; 6) the furthering of the pursuit of happiness inspired by the recognition of the spiritual dignity of man.

The principles of unity and authority in the State are expressed in the second section: *Government of the People*. Fundamental 7 stresses the natural sovereignty of the people, and Fundamental 8 stresses the necessary obedience and responsibility of the people.

The functioning of good government, or the principles regarding the essential means to be used in good government, are expressed in the third section: *Government by the People*. Fundamental 9 stresses the principle of representation, and Fundamental 10 the principle of checks and balances through distinction and cooperation of the legislative, executive and judicial powers.

Each of these central ideas which live as a tradition, or at least as a tendency, in most civilized peoples, calls for the higher principles of a sound philosophy of State. Logically, the second part of each "fundamental" thus consists in the formulation of a philosophical principle which justi-

fies, and also sometimes limits, the rights which are expressed in the first part.

As a final conclusion of this process of analysis, it soon becomes clear that all philosophy, including the philosophy of State, calls for some ultimate answers which can only be given by the profound religious traditions of the nations. Thus the aim of the State: the perfection of human dignity, postulates a Creator Who has "endowed man with inalienable rights", and, more concretely still, calls for a "Father in heaven" who justifies the claims of equality and brotherhood among men. The responsibilities of government of the people and by the people postulate the furthering in the people of moral virtues and religious dedication. These ultimate foundations of democracy are briefly expressed in Fundamentals 11 and 12. This logical conclusion has been recognized even by the "Communitistic" pioneers such as the French social philosopher Proudhon who wrote that politics necessarily ends in theology. In other words, the study of history proves, *a posteriori*, what reflection had concluded *a priori*: that the keystone to all solid political tradition is a moral and religious tradition.

§ 3. THE NEW GROWTH OF TRADITION

Slogans and covenants will not suffice to build a sound post-war order. The really constructive work for the future is to consolidate all sound national traditions and to integrate them in an international tradition of law and order which, throughout the upheavals of our times, has been struggling to be

born. Christians, more than any others, can give to the masses the positive and comprehensive vision for which they are waiting. Christians all over the world must devote their conjoint energies to the cultivation of a common political tradition inspired by moral and religious principles. The Pro Deo Movement has made of the diffusion of the fundamentals of sound political tradition one of its main objectives.

The first step towards this end has been the publication of the *CIP Forum* presenting the provisory conclusions of the INTERCIP Research Bureau concerning the development of the traditions of the United States, Germany, Italy, China, Japan, France, the Central European countries and the small European democracies, the British Commonwealth of Nations, Spain and the Latin-American countries. These conclusions have been presented at public forums or discussed in private round-table meetings of specialists. The most constructive comments have been printed in the *CIP Forum*.

The comprehensive results of this systematic effort are now being published in a series of books which show how the different types of democracy mutually complement one another, how they are threatened by the same totalitarian or neo-totalitarian complexes, and how the international tradition of democracy can and must become the soundest guarantee for world peace. This series, called the *International Outlook* series, is scheduled for publication starting in the Winter of 1944; the French edition, published at "Fides", Montreal, and identical with the English, is called *Collection In-*

ternationale. (*CIP Forum* has not been published in French.) The first subjects chosen for publication in book form are the United States, Germany, France and the small European democracies (Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries).

In all this work dedicated to the clarification of the fundamentals of democracy, a systematic effort is made to distinguish the sound traditions living in the masses from the unsound forces which, in some cases, have temporarily overcome the others. By studying closely historical evolutions, or revolutions, it is possible to see how there are deeper currents which, although sometimes divorced from the policies of present rulers, are the best basis for political education or re-education, and the best approach for integration in "a world family of democratic nations". The word "democracy" acts, more than ever, as a catalysis in war-time public opinion and, in the post-war period also, the popular tendencies for justice and freedom are likely to crystallize around this theme. In the nations where tradition is explicitly democratic, the theme for the cultivation of tradition is thus "the fundamentals of democracy". In other nations, where the term "democracy" is not sufficiently rehabilitated, other themes will perhaps be used to coordinate and strengthen the sound traditions.

Next to the publications on this subject, special courses on the fundamentals of democracy are being organized to spread deeper knowledge and enthusiasm for sound traditions. These courses are the logical continuation of the *CIP Course on Politics*:

Philosophy and Practice, described in the former chapter. This preliminary course gives the ABC of the Thomistic philosophy of State. An intellectual needs to know the rudiments of this synthesis of Christian thought before studying concrete traditions and tendencies. The course for the second year treats of "the ideas behind national traditions". It is nothing but the systematic study of the historical backgrounds and present developments of those countries which are called to leave their imprint on the world to come. The course for the third year binds together the conclusions of the preliminary studies in "the fundamentals of international society". In these lessons, the twelve theses described above are successively applied to the present currents of thought. In distinguishing the constructive modern tendencies from the destructive ones, it is possible to build a sound synthesis of democratic thought which can inspire international public opinion.

Parallel with this effort, popular promotion meetings are being prepared. They differ from all political meetings in the fact that they treat exclusively the deeper sources which underlie the tradition and political consciousness of the nation and of the world. Their main purpose is to revive the better tendencies in the masses and to create Christian democratic dynamics superior to the dynamics of evil which rocked the foundations of our civilization. This aim is also pursued by the *Manifestoes Pro Deo* which are signed by leaders of public opinion who, without renouncing opinions regarding accidentals, unite in dedication to essen-

tials. The program seems immense. But the good will, which has suffered defeats in its passivity, is immense when awakened to joint activity. The great urge of the Christian lay apostolate is driving the best men everywhere out of their isolation. Christians begin to understand their duty to be intensely present in the midst of this great political evolution of the world. They can win the peace if they cultivate the best traditions of peoples along progressive lines.

CHAPTER IX

THE EXPLOITATION OF THE POPULAR THEME

There is something feminine about the masses. Anyone who does not understand this will never be able to handle them. What Pascal said about the heart, which is predominant in feminine psychology, can be applied equally to the public opinion of the masses: it has its reasons which reason ignores. There are sudden trends in public opinion which it cannot explain to itself. There are lightning enthusiasms which are not the conclusion of arguments. There is often what Isaias called seduction through trifles; the startling obsession of souls by seemingly unimportant things. There are ideas which, at a certain period, run through all other ideas, as a musical theme which swells and comes back over and over again, throughout the most unexpected variations.

The popular theme is often some striking event which is brought up in the midst of all conversations, and influences all thoughts. It is more often an appealing interpretation or popular twist given to sensational events by propaganda or "filtered" news agencies. It often is a popular slogan which hypnotizes even those who argue against it, as a popular ditty is whistled even by those who would protest that they give no attention to it. It often is a

popular figure, politician, writer, editor, sportsman, who arouses insane enthusiasms, unholy adorations, psychological surrender. If some publicity agent harnesses this force, created by popular figure or popular theme, to his particular product, the product will rise rapidly, higher and higher on the scales of mass consumption, even if the quality of other products is superior.

This phenomenon of the popular figure or theme invading the imagination and capturing the heart of the masses is as natural as the phenomenon of rain and lightning. In this field also the Pro Deo Movement has adopted the most realistic reasoning. *A fact: the masses are swayed by the popular theme of the day. Conclusion: we must wield the popular theme and utilize its potentialities for higher things.*

The "Committee of Action for God" in Holland understood this magnificently. Leaflets, booklets, bimonthly tabloids, posters, exhibitions were organized on an exceptionally large scale. The tabloids reached more than a million homes. They always managed to catch the dominant topic of the day and were, after a couple of years, as powerful in their publicity for God as the top-ranking commercial or political propaganda. The "Offensive for God" in Belgium developed along the same lines, and, having founded the "Catholic Center of Promotion" (CCP), managed to exploit the themes of the day by using simultaneously the whole gamut of the modern means of publicity. Similar efforts have been developed in other countries, often on a larger scale. It seems, however, that in this field, as in other fields of the lay apostolate, a few

formulas and applications tried out in small countries may prove to be of international usefulness.

§ 1. THE METHOD OF TRANSFIGURATION

There are sentiments which are primary in the masses and always respond to a popular appeal. These sentiments are the primary themes which run through the fluctuations of public opinion. Such are the desire for love, for happiness, liberty, justice. These sentiments are basically sound and can be easily channeled into spiritual and moral elevation. A direct appeal to religious sentiments will often fail to move the large masses of indifferents, not because they object to religion but because they think they have enough with one sermon a week . . . or a year. Applying this principle, CCP chose as the glaring and more or less sentimental title for one of its magazine-form booklets the theme *Happiness through Sacrifice* (in the French edition *Proof of Love*). Illustration was more copious than text, showing first a baby at the "cutest" age with night-shirt and candle, with the caption: "So young, and yet it must suffer." Illustration and text then proceeded, giving striking examples of suffering and showing how, everywhere, even in the Buddhist and Shintoist temples, men sacrifice to God to expiate their sins and implore His graces. And so gradually minds were led to the highest manifestation of love and divine source of happiness: the Holy Mass. In a few weeks, one hundred thousand copies were sold. This would not have happened with a booklet or leaflet treating directly the mysteries of the Holy Mass.

This method allows the most unexpected applications. So, for instance, the title *Liberty... in practice* introduced a booklet which, starting with the unmasking of brutal dictators in the world, proceeded with the description of the small, stubborn dictators in our hearts, the passions which are the intimate menace to our liberty... and ended by proving the dynamic value of Lenten mortification. There are seasons in Christian countries when more or less direct appeal to religious themes attracts even the indifferent. So, for instance, during Christmastide, different kinds of CCP materials succeeded easily in introducing old folk-songs, tales, pictures and plays into milieux which had forgotten all religious practice. Many national feasts and festivals (also commercialized or secularized) can be used by Christians to awaken the deeper feeling that first inspired them.

Next to these more or less permanent or periodical themes, which always bring popular response under the most diverse circumstances, there are the themes which are, of their very nature, ephemeral. They can be of exceptional emotional value but must be seized before they are supplanted by a new interest.

In the last period of the "bogey" war and Maginot Line mentality, about Easter 1940, the dominant theme of popular interest was the question: "Will peace not be signed?" The Pro Deo groups (*Actiekernen*) of Antwerp and other Flemish cities then composed, for their approach to the a-religious masses, a leaflet on which an immense title (covering half the page) announced: *Peace will be signed!!!* These leaflets were distributed

(every year) exclusively to movie-houses, in night clubs, and other places of amusement, during the night of Good Friday. There could be no doubt that the people to be found there, at this hour when the Church most insistently calls for recollection, were not very much interested in religion and would not have read an obviously religious leaflet. There was no doubt that they did read this leaflet, the title of which seemed to announce an answer to the most burning question. They read the title and then read that there could be "no peace without if there be no peace within — no peace in the world, if no peace in souls"... And many read to the end which reminded them that, being baptized in the Catholic faith, they should make their peace with God by Easter confession. In extreme cases this more extreme method of springing on the forgetful a surprising echo of their childhood religion is justified and often effective.

In most cases, however, it is not necessary to recur to this intellectual ambush. It suffices generally to be on the lookout for the "things which the people are crazy about" and to choose those themes which normally can lead to a spiritual conviction. So, for instance, posters display an attractive young man with a sweet girl. The caption is very large: "You would want them happy... if they were your children." Underneath, in smaller print: "Give them a Christian education... in Christian schools." So, in the days of the greatest success of the people's darling, Shirley Temple, her most engaging dimpled smile on the cover of a Pro Deo tabloid and the telling of choice film stories

led to the conclusion that movie guidance must be given to children and to adults.

Popular themes are often even more ephemeral than the duration of a peace or a film star. For a month, or a week, or less, some theme is of burning interest and the subject of most conversations. A few days after, it is forgotten as if it had never existed. It is as cold as if it had never burned. Because the Catholic Promotion Center of Brussels (CCP) grew, as a special section, out of the Catholic Press Center, it was very different from other publishing firms. It was set up to function according to the rhythm of the rapidly-changing themes of public opinion. A couple of examples will make this clear.

After the successive Munichs and ever-revived hopes of "peace for our times", the actual outbreak of war came, on September 1, 1939, as a stunning blow to most people. The war raised new moral and religious problems and created a new atmosphere, new psychological reactions in public opinion. Traditional publishing firms asked their religious authors to write a book or a booklet on the Christian solution of war problems, and this literature came on the market two to six months later. The CCP succeeded, however, in bringing out a popular pamphlet, *Prayers for War-time*, in those very first days when the full impact of the war was still a deep and fresh impression. This speed-edition was hurried by special delivery to priests planning their first war-time meetings for the faithful and to the chaplains just arrived in their new field of apostolate for the six hundred thousand boys rapidly and efficiently mobilized into the Belgian Army.

These and the following 8-page pamphlets published for less than half a cent were timely and efficient instruments for mass distribution.

Sometimes it is possible to foresee future themes of public interest and to launch the issue at the precise moment when the great news breaks. For it is possible to note the nationally and internationally famous persons (or institutions) who are sure to be the great topics of talk at the occasion of important anniversaries or at their death. So, when Pius XI went into his last illness, the CCP prepared a popular biography using the abundant materials of the press services which had published many features about the different aspects of his activities. Illustrations and all chapters but the last were printed weeks beforehand. When the description of the Pope's edifying last moment came by radio and cable from the Vatican, the last chapter was written and rushed to the printer. In the early morning after the event, trucks were speeded to the different Provinces so that an illustrated paper-cover biography of 200 pages (at 5 francs or 20 cents) was on sale that next day in many bookshops and presented to the faithful at the Sunday Masses the day after. For the Flemish population alone (less than 5 million people), sixty thousand copies were sold in a fortnight (equivalent in the United States to more than 2 million copies). Up to then only certain very commercial firms which currently exploited sex and murder stories had, now and then, made supplementary profits by exploiting some religious event in a sentimental and sometimes unorthodox way. The simple and total lesson of the great Pope had

to be given to the masses at this precise moment, the moment when they were disposed to accept it. And a movement developing similar techniques on an international scale surely can utilize effectively many popular themes of interest.

§ 2. THE METHOD OF DEFLATION

In all the preceding explanations, it should have become clear that the *Pro Deo* methods are predominantly positive, and that negative means are used only in cases of absolute necessity. The energies spent in making the truth grow in the mind of the people are in the long run more fruitful than the same amount of energy spent in slashing at error. The creation of a void around evil influences, of a conspiracy of silence against lies, is often the best method of combat. Especially when the dangerous ideas are still confined to particular milieux, they die a natural death since no one bothers about them; or, at most, do not spread beyond those who, normally, could not be convinced. To attack such errors publicly and violently would be to make propaganda in their favor and to make everyone curious to know more about them.

When, however, dangerous ideas have gained the sympathy of larger circles, silence would mean surrender. When these evil ideas have become popular themes among the masses, we Christians must face the facts and try to overcome them by counter-propaganda.

The first rule in this battle for public opinion

is to fight the enemy on his own plane. Many apologists use traditional ideological arguments which are so far above the heads of the masses that they do not even touch the enemy. These arguments do not hinder the evil force from boring into the imagination and heart of the masses. In the analysis of the evil influences which must be overcome, it is obviously essential to dig deeper and deeper until we logically find the fundamental roots of the error. Having done this, we know that the main job is the positive work of promoting those precise truths which can, of their own dynamism, overcome error. But in direct combat, however, we must choose not the logical but the psychological point in which the enemy is vulnerable.

One example will suffice to make this clear. Having, for ten years, analyzed systematically current film productions, the film press office DOCIP came to the conclusion that the dominant danger there was not atheism nor immorality but just plain hedonism. The current of ideas created by a majority of movies is not against God nor even openly against the ten Commandments, but rather follows the easier and simpler line that life is primarily having a good time and avoiding being bothered too much by such things as conscience, commandments and Churches. Philosophers and theologians call this, when expressed in doctrinal terms, the heresy of hedonism. Popular actors and film stars, who never use doctrinal terms and who probably have never even heard the word hedonism, might very well deny having expounded this heresy. In fact, they just live hedonism attractively, charm-

ingly and convincingly. They incarnate the doctrine without preaching it.

Our problem is how to overcome hedonism in those circles where preaching against it would not be tolerated. Now the psychologically vulnerable point of hedonism is its stupidity. The easy, all-too-easy, life does not develop intelligence. Most actors and film stars, who owe their popularity mostly to their "charm" and "sex appeal", display, on close inspection, signs of howling stupidity. This is its vulnerable spot. DOCIP remembered the French proverb, "ridicule kills", when it started its campaign against prevalent hedonism. This method of deflation by ridicule was applied by caricatures, anecdotes, interviews, background stories, etc. It was, in some cases, definitely successful. Applied, after mature reflection, to well-chosen cases, it is a healthy process, as a good blow which brings fresh air into a stifling room. One of the best remedies against the slow-working poisons in the public atmosphere is a dose of concentrated contempt for human degradation.

§ 3. THE METHOD OF FACILITATION

Many popular themes seem to have little or no connection with ideas. Sports are in many milieux the great topics of conversation. Lotteries are spots of hectic popular interest in most European and Latin-American countries, more than "bingo" in the United States which is, after all, only a fore-taste of lottery. So the question comes up: How can those themes be exploited for higher spiritual purposes?

In the first place, even the most material things in human life are *de facto* linked with spiritual issues. It is necessary in these cases to look around a bit more thoroughly to discover a possible link. In sport themes, there are magnificent occasions to write about many natural virtues. So, for instance, during the last great European bicycle contest before the war, the *Tour de France*, the Catholic press service of Brussels won thousands of new readers for its features in describing the private life of the winner (Bartali) who happened to display exceptional signs of genuine religious spirit and practice.

In the second place, the appeal of certain material things must often be exploited to make the spiritual things possible. The different Brussels offices noted in these pages had their own slogan for internal use: *L'appel des cloches présuppose l'appel des poches* — the religious appeal presupposes the appeal of the pocketbook. Among the various successful methods used to obtain the material means which would make the spiritual apostolate possible, the Dutch Committee Pro Deo hit on a method which perhaps psychologically is the most illuminating. It organized annually an Easter lottery to raise the necessary funds. The psychological period was well chosen. Prizes were original, practical and attractive: a house in the country, a gratis supply of groceries for a year, house furnishings. But the choicest psychological reasoning which brought an extraordinary response was this: many more people would give for the good purpose if we could only make giving easier for them. So Pro Deo promoters presented to each parishioner com-

ing out of every church on Easter Sunday, a green card bearing an individual number for participation in the Pro Deo lottery. After describing the prizes, the card explained that the only formality required for a chance to win one of those prizes was to attach a ten-cent stamp, or as many ten-cent stamps as the number of chances desired. It is so easy to stick on just one stamp, to put the strip with the lottery number somewhere in one's purse and then to forget all about it until the day of the drawing. The Pro Deo Committee had an arrangement with the post-office for the refunding of the difference between the stamp values and the normal postage. This easy stamp system brought every year two to three hundred thousand guilders for the Dutch Pro Deo activities (in the United States, on a proportional basis, the amount would be \$2,000,000).

In this field of application, the formulas differ considerably in different countries. But the same attention given to the study of practical points of psychology can produce the same results in all countries.

CHAPTER X

THE TECHNIQUES OF COORDINATION

The apostolate of public opinion is nothing but the art of giving to certain ideas a greater dynamism, a greater force to move the imagination, feeling and will of the masses. In former times, we could have expressed the common characteristics of the methods and activities used to inspire public opinion with higher ideals, in employing the term: Christian propaganda. In fact, the word "propaganda" was first introduced in modern times by the Vatican "Commissio de propaganda fide" or Commission for the Propagation of the Faith, founded in Rome in 1822. Propaganda has been so much abused for lower aims that the word now suggests disagreeable connotations. So when we mean propaganda in favor of higher things, we must use the word "promotion", just as we speak of publicity when the specific idea of buying some particular product is to be propagated.

Before stressing the necessity of coordinating the modern means of propaganda (or promotion) we must clear up a misunderstanding. In America, more than elsewhere, a journalist or even a scientist likes to repeat: "I am only a reporter, an observer, and I am interested in facts, not in conclusions." It is one of the outstanding virtues of the American

that he is exceedingly honest with facts, and will faithfully report what he has seen, and not what he would like to have seen. But it happens that the human mind is something more complicated than a recording machine, and that no observer in the world can avoid presenting, together with facts, some conclusions as well. The very choice of facts to be presented is based on the conclusion that some facts are important, useful, significant, etc., and others not. The problem of all news agencies as well as of all promotion services is thus to be sure of at least some fundamental conclusions which regulate their activities. In contingent matters there are conclusions which seem probable or improbable, and this normally creates a divergency of opinions. But in necessary matters there are absolute truths which must be held firmly and uncompromisingly once they have been conscientiously checked. This simple distinction is perhaps the best explanation why this war is being fought. For although we concede that other men and other nations can differ with us in social and political opinions, we cannot concede that a man or a nation may claim the right to kill a neighbor in order to increase personal or national riches and living space.

We have learned most tragically that anyone claiming to remain neutral between fundamental truth and error is either a fool or a hypocrite. We have learned that the decent people all over the world should have been less ashamed of the fundamental truths of Christian civilization and should have joined their forces earlier in propagating them efficiently. If they had done this, they would perhaps not have had to fight and die for them now.

The Pro Deo Movement, through its press services, *Correspondence*, and *Forums*, has not hidden its aims under a neutral name. It is an organized effort to develop in public opinion the spiritual dynamism of truth and goodness which can overcome and forestall new assaults of the brutal dynamism of error and evil. We can make truth lovable and can make decency powerful, but only if we adapt our methods, after realistic analysis, to the psychology of modern man. The interpretation of news, the inspiration of human interest stories, the dialectics of the topical question, the cultivation of tradition, the exploitation of the popular theme, are precise means for the aim of giving to sound ideas increased power over the life of the masses. But while each, separately, would not often succeed, the coordination of all these different means into precise campaigns has good chances of obtaining the desired result.

§ 1. THE LAW OF REPETITION

The main laws for the coordination of the modern means of propaganda are repetition, variation and amplification. Repetition has *de facto* become, more than in former centuries, the main mechanical way of spreading ideas. Modern man has generally neither time nor liking for the tedious processes of argumentation which are the normal intellectual way to establish convictions. He will be more impressed by the mechanical repetition, tenfold, a hundredfold, of the same unproven affirmation, than by presentation of many different argu-

ments which prove the affirmation. The totalitarians have understood this and have used repetition to stuff the minds with lies, until they are impenetrable to truth. Christians must use the same means to present, constantly, those truths which open the mind and liberate man from lower desires.

§ 2. THE LAW OF VARIATION

Repetition, however, is monotonous, and, although this very characteristic has sometimes a kind of hypnotic power, it can also create unfavorable reactions. Therefore, variation in the repetition is often necessary. This means that the same idea is to be presented through many different forms. It can enter through various senses, successively or simultaneously. It can be introduced by other ideas, or can be implicitly suggested in a complex approach where one would never think of finding it.

We cite as an example the diffusion of the slogan widely used in Europe just before the invasion of the West: "No peace without if no peace within — no peace in the world if no peace in the soul... with God." Introduced by a sensational title, *Peace will be signed !!!* this idea was presented in the leaflet campaign to the most indifferent and irreligious public. For several weeks it was used with different variations in the *One Minute Pro Deo* over the radio. These short Pro Deo slogans of one minute were inserted, several times a day, between the news items and talks of two Belgian Catholic radio programs. Quite a number of dailies and weeklies took the same theme in their current daily

or weekly feature of 100 words, *Offensive Pro Deo*. At the same time one of the Pro Deo posters promoted the slogan by printing it under the first large picture of the new Pope Pius XII. The poster was not only displayed on thousands of streets but it was also used as decoration in thousands of meeting halls and offices. Finally, the idea was paraphrased in the speed edition of the illustrated CCP magazine, with photos and a biography of the Pope which succeeded in being the first on the market. All this was organized during the Lenten season (1940) when the Church invites all the baptized to make their peace with God.

§ 3. THE LAW OF AMPLIFICATION

The competition in the struggle to gain the attention of the masses has now become so great that a third element is necessary to make a readily successful propaganda campaign: amplification. Hitler's analysis of this phenomenon in his *Mein Kampf* is a work of genius which has proved to be catastrophic because he was the first to apply this discovery systematically. The modern masses seem (at least in some countries) to have little resistance when indoctrinated with a varied repetition of lies, which become bigger and bigger, louder and louder, until all critical faculties are benumbed. This writer had unforgettable experiences along this line when he was still travelling regularly in Germany (up to 1936, Hitler was still playing his game of flirting with positive Christianity). The International Film Congress, held in rotation in

European capitals, was held in Berlin in 1935. At this occasion, Nazi propaganda staged a masterly campaign on the theme *Ein Volk, ein Reich, ein Führer* (one people, one Reich, one Fuehrer). Press, radio, films, posters and parades orchestrated the theme in crescendo as the first of May approached. But without the climax of the immense manifestation of the Tempelhof, the idea would not have been hammered so efficiently into the heads of the people. Catholic leaders who had, with justifiable curiosity, accepted the special invitation to be present at the Tempelhof ceremony were, to their surprise, seated on a rostrum a couple of yards from Hitler's pulpit. The flare of the colossal red banners decorating the stadium, the thunder of the hundred and fifty thousand men marching in square blocks, the blare of the brass bands and bugles soon brought all nerves to a state of "mystic" tension. Then, solemnly heralded, the solitary figure of the Fuehrer strode, through the wide corridors to the rostrum. An impressive silence . . . and then one voice, louder, ever louder . . . The voice of the Fuehrer follows the rule of bigger, Bigger, BIGGER. Starting calmly and quickly with a clever satire on "divided and perverted" democracy, and then an appealing paraphrase of the slogan "One people, one Reich, one Fuehrer: are we not united, active, strong? . . . One Reich for the next thousand years" . . . and then a sharp bellow: "I, the Fuehrer, if I have to lie, I will lie for the good of the greater German people; and if I have to betray, I will betray for the good of the greater German people; and if I have to kill, I will kill for the good of the greater German people." . . . At this moment,

spontaneously, one mighty howl of the 150,000 "Heil ! Heil ! Heil !!!"

This experience, and many others, should have delivered us of stubborn illusions. We should have realized that the pastorals of some Bishops and the sermons of many pastors are not strong enough to protect the faithful against the coordinated propaganda moves of pagan demagogues and exploiters of popular passions. There is one power, however, more difficult to arouse to collective expression but more permanent and all-pervading: the power of Christian tradition. Against the background of the great Nazi manifestation of Tempelhof described above, we must recall the greater Catholic manifestation of Heysel with which the completely coordinated Belgian effort of Catholic propaganda culminated. Press, radio, leaflets, posters, parades and meetings, also repeated in various forms, with increasing impact, the simple themes of the Christian faith. On this summer Sunday of 1936, 200,000 men and women had come from all the corners of the small country to the Heysel stadium of Brussels. There were no goose-stepping, no guttural commands, no brass bands, no trumpets calling. In the middle of the arena, one immense cross dominated the simply-draped terraced platform along which the colorful and musical groups of the pageant moved. There were several hundred players, mostly Jocists, representing — in a revival of the old Flemish techniques of market-place mystery plays — the opposing forces in the struggle for the restoration of society in Christ. The movements were simple: the choir led and commented on the various themes. Now and then the choir invited the

masses to answer spontaneously vital questions by confessing their faith. Then came the thunder of the 200,000 enthusiastic responses:

Credo, I believe in God, the Father Almighty!

Credo, I believe in Jesus Christ, His Son, our Lord!

Credo, I believe in the Holy Ghost, the Holy Catholic Church!

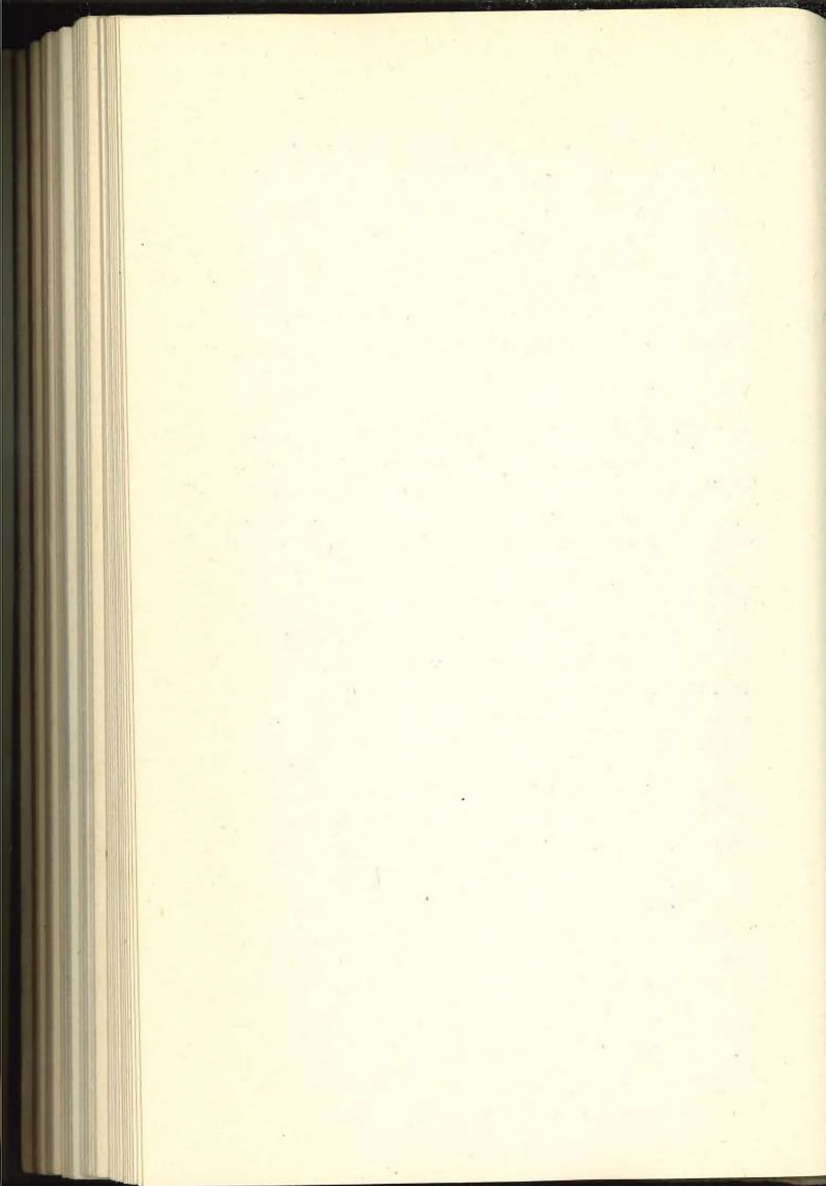
This expression of a millenary faith left an indelible impression on the souls of all those who were present — and on the souls of those who, though not there, were made aware of the depth of the faith rooted in the hearts of millions by the faithful accounts given in newspapers and over the radio.

PART III

THE ADVANCE GUARD PRO DEO

"What we want is a handful of specialists trained in the techniques of public opinion, for that is as important as the great mass organizations. It has been a lesson that just a handful of atheistic and immoral demagogues have in the past driven the good overly credulous people of Portugal from catastrophe to catastrophe through a series of revolutions. Militant Catholics must be schooled not only to repeat what Bishops and priests have said, but also to bring the light of the Gospel into the furthest fields of human life, economics, politics, social and cultural affairs."

(Words spoken by Cardinal Gonçalves Cerejeira at the occasion of the establishment of the CIP Center in Lisbon, July 1940.)



CHAPTER XI

THE CENTERS OF ACTION

Bishop Lamiroy of Bruges, pioneer of Catholic Action for adults, opened interesting vistas when he declared at the Catholic Action Congress of Courtrai (where this writer had sketched the main lines of the Pro Deo techniques): "You make the ammunition, we use it for the offensive." This is the first task of the film-radio-press-publicity-center described in the foregoing chapters: to invent and produce the best materials for adapted action in these fields. Religious mass organizations, and those special Catholic Action groups which, in some countries, have already attracted large numbers are not created for the exploitation of the modern power of public opinion. They have, consequently, not specialized their staffs in those techniques, and need the technical assistance of the centers described above if they are to be informed and armed for action. The specialized staffs of these centers, on the other hand, are powerless if they cannot rely on the cooperation of different mass organizations. Without a better formation of Christian leaders in the fields of press, film, radio and modern promotion, there is little chance of re-Christianizing public opinion. Without mobilization of all members of militant Christian organizations, campaigns launched by specialists cannot be successful.

The inter-war period brought, in most countries,

a rich growth of apostolic organizations. Precisely where there is most vitality there is a most urgent need for coordination. Having studied carefully the forms of lay apostolate in thirty-two countries, this writer has come to the conclusion that the little country of Belgium, which started the organization of the laity earlier than most other countries and so came earlier to face the difficult problems, has found the way to the solution of the most delicate problems of coordination.

After the satisfactory coordination of the Catholic Youth organizations in 1929, Mgr. Picard, Mgr. Cruysberghs and Canon Dubois were, in 1936-38, the three main promoters of a larger coordination, including the adults. Canon Dubois, of the diocese of Bruges, introduced the distinction between "the specialization for the subject" and "the specialization for the object" which proved illuminating. The specialization for the subject coordinates those Catholic Action organizations which group their members (subjects) according to the different social milieux: workers, farmers, employers, etc., together with the auxiliary religious organizations dedicated to devotional and charitable purposes. The specialization according to the object coordinates the Catholic Action Centers which authoritatively give moral guidance in questions of film, radio, press, public morality, school matters, together with those which, without engaging the responsibility of the Church, pursue the diverse objects of religious penetration in public opinion, film, press, radio, business and commerce. This distinction between mandated and non-mandated centers is important. So, for instance, the "Com-

mittee of Film Selection" in Belgium was mandated as Catholic Action because this was necessary to give authority to its classifications (similar to those of the "National Legion of Decency" of the United States). The film agency DOCIP, and the general press agency CP, were not mandated, because their work involved temporal aspects and interpretation for which the Hierarchy was not to be made responsible. While recognized by the Hierarchy as an apostolic work, they operate under the responsibility of their lay directors.

Applying these principles, the coordination was established by bringing the heads of the different mass organizations and of the centers of apostolate together in a national council. At meetings of this council, which was the general staff of the Christian forces, the planning of systematic and long-range action was finally made possible. Programs were generally coordinated each year in three main fields: one stressing a definite doctrinal question to be studied; a second elaborating a social program, each in its own milieu; a third uniting on some precise point of the press-film-radio-public-morality-school, action which is of common interest to all classes. After a few years of experience it became clear that this coordination of the new forces of lay apostolate with the machinery of the apostolate of public opinion was the secret of the successful offensives.

This coordination, to have full effect, must be carried through not only on the national but on the regional and local plane. The coordination of the general staff with the general services of munitions production, supply and transportation, would not

give appreciable results if there is no coordination of the commanders of the regiments, battalions, companies, with their engineers.

We must add that, to have a good, efficient coordination, there must be good materials to coordinate. The most important thing is not that in all countries formal councils be formed in which the representatives of the various branches of the lay apostolate exercise their authority in common; but that, in all fields where common action must be developed, the leaders of mass organizations should know where they can find specialists for consultation on matters of film, press, radio, public morality and public thought. After developing, in national Centers, the modern techniques and the supply of information, documentation and propaganda materials, the first concern must be to create Centers of action in the key localities of the country. The first experiences in this work were made in Belgium, where a network of Centers of action studded the country, starting as early as 1931. The same development is showing definite results now in this hemisphere, starting with the United States and Canada.

These local Centers which are organized as auxiliaries of the national CIP Centers are called Centers of Action Pro Deo. They apply, in the different fields of public opinion, the same golden rule: observe, judge, act, which has made Jocism and similar organizations so powerful in the social milieux.

§ 1. THE FIELDS OF INQUIRY

The first task of a local Center is to observe systematically the situation of press, radio, film in its territory. Not only dailies but also weekly and monthly papers of local origin are scrutinized closely according to a system of norms described in the *Methodology Pro Deo*. These examinations are based on the presumption that tendencies manifested in the editorial pages are not always the same as those hidden in the news-columns, advertisements and illustrations.

In North America and, in a lesser measure, also in South America, anti-clerical dailies are rare and anti-religious ones are almost non-existent. Only a small number of specialized weeklies or monthlies display definite atheistic or immoral tendencies. There seems, thus, to be no need (as was the case in pre-war Europe) to refer the results of the surveys of current news publications to an official body of Catholic Action which issues lists of objectionable or condemned newspapers. There is, on the contrary, a greater need of finding how, in the great number of publications with good intentions, the opportunities for penetration of religious ideas can be exploited. It seems clear that the opportunities for the Church, as well as the objections against it, are to be found in the mixed field where Church and State have common interests. Many publications consider the Catholic Church primarily as an immense political machine which has certain authoritarian (if not actually Fascist) tendencies. The courage of numerous Bishops and priests as

well as of members of Christian Democratic parties, in their opposition to totalitarian and racial doctrines is, however, making it increasingly clear that the habit of branding the Church as clerico-Fascist will have to be changed. In this as in other specific cases the task of the Centers of Action is to mark the lines of thought which can be corrected by fuller information and those which offer potentialities for a genuine appreciation of religious values. In this research it is necessary not only to follow closely the writings of editors and columnists but also to try to know their background, their affiliations, and the general lines of the orientation of each local paper.

The same remarks can be applied to the examination of the trends and of the organization of radio stations. In general, radio stations have no definite ideological or political orientation and are open to many influences. The radio as well as the press organs of the United States and Canada are outstanding in the world for their tradition of fairness, and this is also becoming increasingly true of most press and radio institutions of the Latin-American countries.

The inquiries regarding the programs of the different movie houses in North America also reveal better conditions than in pre-war Europe. In the first place, the number of objectionable films in the United States is less than 11%, while the French production, for instance, maintained for years a percentage of 40% to 55% objectionable or condemnable pictures. In the second place, the "shorts" are less numerous and very rarely ideologically or morally dangerous, while in Europe it often hap-

pened that dangerous or even scandalous "complements" spoiled the program. Vigilance remains necessary, however, in America also, because there are periodical offensives against some point of the moral code, and then objectionable films are "tested" in certain localities. On the other hand, it is very useful for a local Center, which is often called upon for advice in matters of films, to know which theatres are especially careful in choosing entertainment of good taste for a family public, and which ones cater to more or less unsound tendencies.

These particular investigations are the first step towards a more thorough survey of the current trends of the public mind, in the territory covered by the Center of Action. One method which was proved by the Belgian Centers of Action to bring extremely fertile conclusions is the regular examination of the newspaper stands and bookshops. These surveys show whether there is an increase or diminution in the sale of lewd literature, and sometimes lead to the discovery that some new move of the salesmen of pornography has outwitted the official regulations. These surveys also reveal, through local sales-figures, which of the ideologically dangerous tendencies are gaining influence. Talks with the salesmen often bring unexpected insights into the psychology of the public.

Another method which proves just as essential is the covering of the numerous meetings and forums held in the locality. Newspaper reports generally do not give the atmosphere prevailing in the different assemblies. It is obviously necessary to cover also the subversive and, where possible, even the secret meetings. The experience of the Belgian,

Dutch and French organizations in this field proved that it is not difficult to obtain "inside" information.

All the inquiries described above allow, when pieced together, a pretty accurate picture to be formed of the state of the public mind in the different parts of the country. These reports are essential for the staff writers of the national Center of Information who need concrete knowledge of the currents dominating public opinion in order to write the special CIP articles and *Question-Boxes*.

Next to these comprehensive inquiries, the local Center of Action must organize the local news coverage for the national Center and for INTER-CIP. In the first period of growth, the American CIP agencies appeal to the public more through their news of international bearing than through their national news coverage. The specialized methods of news interpretation developed in the *Methodology Pro Deo* must, however, be gradually applied also to the American scene. For the CIP agencies in other countries, and for the European Centers to be restarted as soon as the respective countries are liberated, it will be essential to have a network of American correspondents who can report the significant events and especially show the working example of the spirit and practice of democracy, which was inspired by Christianity in the nations of the new world.

§ 2. THE FIELDS OF STUDY

One of the experiences most heartening for a Thomist is the call from practice to study which

is always very clear in the normal development of the Pro Deo Movement in various countries. It is a lamentable fact that scholastic study is not very popular in the twentieth century. Most young men of our times prefer practice to theory, and although they have no objections against Thomist philosophy they would not be interested in studying hard to know what Thomism really means for life. To attract this dynamic generation, the founders of the first groups, "Offensive for God", in Antwerp and elsewhere in Flanders, started teaching methods of inquiry in the most modern fields of public opinion. Many of the members had come over from the Jocist Movement (having reached the age limit) and had a solid spiritual and apostolic formation. They soon came to astonishing discoveries of modern dangers and modern possibilities... but rapidly became conscious of ideological problems which they were not able to solve. And so the reality called for the philosophy. The priests, spiritual advisers of the Movement, had been prudent and patient in refusing to impose St. Thomas on the minds of the lay apostles. The lay apostles now asked for St. Thomas, as the answers of their Catechism were evidently not sufficient to give them the elaborated solution to the difficulties encountered. They asked for lessons on the principles of natural law and on the application of religious doctrines in the cultural, social, economic, and political fields. In the Pro Deo Movement it was clear from the beginning that the priests understood they could not act as professors treating the modern adult as a school-boy or a yes-man.

But the practical young men, attracted to membership by this new spirit and practice of Pro Deo, discovered personally, through action, the necessity of study and called for professors. This gave rise to the course, *The Catechism of Modern Man*, which introduced all the meetings. This also called for courses by specialists on various subjects of social and political philosophy.

When the first Pro Deo Centers started in this hemisphere, the approach and many of the formulas were very different from those in Europe . . . but the same universal law worked : more action called for more study. The very first experiences of the New York Center made it perfectly clear : practical Americans want facts and not theories.

So the *Correspondence* was started as a newsletter, and rapidly found exceptional appreciation of its news in the most diverse circles. All readers felt this was another kind of news treatment : shorter, clearer, more thorough. To the traditional American news techniques something new had been added. But this called for explanations of the secret of this kind of objective interpretation, and soon lessons had to be given in Thomist philosophy regarding the various causes of events. This was the origin of the first part of the *CIP Methodology*. The CIP Forums, when started a year later, also led to further questions regarding the principles used to draw clarity and constructive conclusions from a discussion. And these concrete activities brought about the course in the Thomist philosophy of State described in Chapter VII. And so the organization of study groups has become

quite normally an essential part of the program of each Center of Action Pro Deo.

§ 3. THE FIELDS OF ACTION

A general principle of the local as well as of the national Centers Pro Deo is that the work of informing the leaders of public opinion is more important than spectacular propaganda amongst the people. It is more effective to devote patient efforts to opening high religious vistas to the few who mold the ideas of the many, than to impulsively undertake competition by trying to develop new means of direct contact with the masses.

The daily and weekly press services of CIP are an excellent occasion for trained members of the local Center to approach editors and writers, not in an obtrusive "apostolic" way through exhortation or objurgation, but by offering what is of use to them in a professional way. Even the best-intentioned journalists cannot know all the background and religious implications in current events. They generally welcome a specialist on what they call "Church matters" (but the field is much broader than that, as shown in Chapter V). The representative of Pro Deo who has studied and classified the documents received from the national Center, and has, at the same time, observed closely the information and trends of the local newspapers, can be of great service to them. It is his task to make solid and friendly contacts with the proper men on the different local papers, and to show in practice how not the current attitudes of suspicious

isolation but the ways of intelligent cooperation are the authentic expression of Christianity.

The same work of unobtrusive and positive cooperation is applied by the Pro Deo members to radio stations. It is often easier to receive regular time for a CIP news-and-comment program on the local radio than in the columns of the local paper. In both cases the art of the Pro Deo agent is to find out the precise requirements of the prospective client and to arrange with the national CIP Center for the delivery of the adapted materials needed.

In the movie field, the action is more varied and differs more thoroughly according to local circumstances. In some cases, information received from the national Center of Catholic film-action allows previous warning regarding certain objectionable films and their removal from the list of programs. In other cases, a coordinated action of all local Christian and all idealistic associations can succeed in making a spiritually or culturally outstanding film a greater box-office success than would have been the case through ordinary publicity (in America, as well as in Europe, there are concrete cases where this kind of action obtained far-reaching results). These and many other film activities require the training of a specialized film secretary for each local Center.

For more general action on the public mind, the local Center receives special promotion copies of *CIP Correspondence* and *CIP Forum* which are to be presented to writers, lecturers, priests, heads of organizations, librarians and all those who,

because of their responsibilities, need to be better informed about the trends of the times. These special publications of Pro Deo offer an excellent approach for contacting leaders of public opinion.

The CIP Forums, the technique of which is explained in Chapter VII, are also primarily destined to elicit cooperation in constructive discussion from persons who wield a certain influence. The local Centers which organize these Forums know that, if they can hold to the more severe intellectual discipline prescribed by the *Methodology Pro Deo*, they will gradually bring about in their town or region a recognition and appreciation of fundamental principles.

When this preparatory work has proceeded for a certain time, it is then possible to plan mass meetings and large-scale promotion without taking the risk of succumbing to easy successes which do not lead to lasting results. These further activities can be sketched later when the period of adaptation to America has been achieved in this field.

§ 4. THE PRIMACY OF SPIRITUAL LIFE

Among all the experiences of the Pro Deo Movement there is none more significant than the development of the Belgian Centers where the laymen, after about two years of hard work, took the initiative in telling the priests: "We want more strictly spiritual formation." Every apostle who is thrown into the modern maelstrom of action encounters, sooner or later, what Dom Chautard called, in his book, *The Soul of All Apostolate*,

"the heresy of good works". The best techniques of information and propagation are nothing but the "clashing of cymbals" described by St. Paul, if spiritual life is not developed more fully than action. St. Thomas formulated the deepest law of apostolate when he gave the Dominican Order its motto : *Contemplare et contemplata aliis tradere*. This means that the primary concern of man must be the development of interior life, and that then the interior fullness will unceasingly overflow into action. The experience of this vital law of religious life has been the great joy and the great guarantee of the Pro Deo Movement. More action in the Belgian Pro Deo Centers has always called for more contemplation. When the first enthusiasms had cooled off, some members dropped away (or were dismissed) because they found the intellectual and spiritual disciplines too hard to bear. But new candidates were attracted in increasing numbers, and the best, who had stood the test, could be counted on for the most difficult and delicate tasks. Every meeting had its short but intense period of spiritual formation. Every term started with a Sunday of recollection. Every year had its retreat over a week-end, and, in those Provinces where it was possible, the silence of an abbey for three full days.

Some day the life story of some of the Belgian lay leaders will be told, to prove how vocations to live in the world for Christ are not less wonderful than vocations to the religious life or to the priesthood. Some heroic decisions will be described of young men and young women who renounced

marriage because they saw clearly, after a long period of probation, that their special task demanded total sacrifice, but in another way than the way of existing congregations. This writer has observed the same spiritual phenomenon in other branches of lay apostolate and Catholic Action in Belgium, Holland, France, Poland, Switzerland, Canada, the United States, and knows how, through this urge, some new lay congregations were born. This ultimate logic of the lay vocation is, perhaps, the most striking illustration of the great renovation expressed by Pope Pius XI when he stressed that his call to Catholic Action was "not without Divine inspiration".

The ordinary way of the lay apostle is, however, the way of Christian marriage. The special calls are a special grace of God. The ordinary call for lay apostolate is to live in the world and to found a family, but to combine the care for one's own children with the care for God's children who can be helped through apostolate.

The specific characteristic of the Pro Deo spirituality is the interaction of action and contemplation, of work and prayer. The very first initiatives of Pro Deo were the overcoming of spiritual isolation from the realities of our century, through efforts to carry spiritual life into the midst of the most secular activities. The prayer of the Pro Deo Movement, first adopted in 1936, formulated the union of these spiritual and practical experiences.

It was in America, however, that the practice of the "Five Minutes Pro Deo" was applied in the

office life of the national Center. In Belgium the "express" meditation, called "One Minute Pro Deo", was a paraphrase of religious slogans, alternating with comments on press and radio. In the New York CIP the need was felt, primarily by the laity, to interrupt the work every day with a few minutes of meditation in common. Busy days with varied tasks, telephone calls, visits, often made one forget the primacy of spirituality. But then the collaborators will remember and call: "Time for prayer." A short comment on the spiritual theme of the day, a special prayer for intentions connected with the concerns and work of the day: these daily "Five Minutes Pro Deo" are proving most fruitful in the development of the spirituality of the Pro Deo staff.

§ 5. THE SEMINARIES OF THE LAITY

Long-range plans in any field lead to the establishment of special forms of education. An inventor or an adventurer may discover a new field of commerce or industry, but to exploit it thoroughly, special schools must train technicians.

For the apostolate, the same necessity has been felt, in different fields. When *Rerum Novarum* launched the Christian social movement, only a few intellectuals could devote their free time to the creation of workers' organizations. But the Christian trade unions of Belgium, Holland and France soon had an immense membership needing many specially trained men to staff their offices. And so the Christian social schools sprung up and developed

into the "West Point" of the working class. But the growth of Catholic Action created a demand for well-trained leaders in fields quite different from socio-economic interests. And so courses developed in specialized schools for Catholic Action. At first it seemed that regional study weeks and more prolonged evening classes would do. These gradually became more and more complete, presenting not only practical applications but also, more and more, the theological principles involved. Just as the formation of priests cannot be solid without the systematic discipline of the seminary, so the formation of professional lay leadership for Catholic Action cannot be guaranteed without the discipline of full-time schools for Catholic Action leaders. Belgium being one of the first countries to start the practical realization of Catholic Action, was also one of the first to organize a specialized School for Catholic Action Leaders. In Roeselaere (West Flanders) the first two-year curriculum was inaugurated (1927) for young men who had shown signs of a lay vocation. In many respects, the daily schedule of prayer and study resembled that of a seminary, and the spirit of the students showed the same joyous dynamism. The lessons ranged from the most abstract subjects of theology and philosophy, to the most practical applications in the field of economics, social and political sciences. Special courses in journalism and publicity, and in the technical problems of press, film and radio were among the most popular parts of the curriculum. These schools of Catholic Action leaders are destined to become a normal element of the

Church's structure in countries where Catholicism is developed. They alone can prepare thoroughly enough leaders for the responsible tasks in the numerous organizations of lay apostolate. The foundation of these schools is the responsibility of those Catholic Action organizations which need full-time workers and are interested in the solid formation of their men because they recognize the necessity for quality leadership.

Next to this all-round formation of the lay leader, there is need also for the technical training of those who must be able to make a way for militant Christianity in the most modern branches of press, radio, film and publicity. Some Catholic Universities such as Lille (France) and Marquette (United States) have developed a school of journalism. It is essential for Christianity that this trend should develop in numerous colleges and universities. There is no lack of talent among the new generation of laymen who have grown up in the atmosphere of Catholic Action and want to put their work at the service of souls. The techniques of news interpretation, of story writing, of politico-ideological analysis should not remain a quasi-monopoly of secular universities. The techniques of script writing for films or theatre, the techniques of directing motion pictures and plays, of photography and publicity, should be taught in a way that makes them instruments for the promotion of higher ideals.

CHAPTER XII

THE ACTION OF THE SPIRIT

From the reviewers who read a book very carefully before commenting on it there is no reason to exclude one especially careful re-reader : the author. This chapter will thus be devoted to comments on the two grave faults of this book on the Apostolate of Public Opinion. In the first place, it is too incomplete : it does not sufficiently answer the questions it has raised, and does not raise all the questions connected with its subject. In the second place, the book is too complete : it treats of too many tasks which cannot all be performed, and seems even to plan an impossible world conquest.

Reflecting upon the first comment, it does in fact become increasingly clear that this book contains more questions than answers. But reflecting just a bit more, we suddenly exclaim paradoxically with St. Augustine : "Felix culpa !" For it is a happy and fruitful fault when we Christians finally begin to discover that we do not have all the answers. Through Baptism we are born in the truth before we are awake to the truth. Through Catechism we know the great answers before we have grown aware of the questions. Consequently, many Christians have kept their principles as a preserve, immune to doubts and questions, but also

immune to growth and full development in modern circumstances.

This book, the first in a series, is written in the hope that those interested will study the questions which have not been answered here and write the chapters which have not been started.

Reflecting upon the second comment, it finally becomes painfully clear that there is nothing wrong with the many tasks described above, but that something is wrong with the Christians if too few men stand up to take on the tasks that must be performed to save the world. If we did not speak as Christians to Christians, we would keep silent when practical men accuse us of wanting to perform the impossible. But God has a way of asking men impossible things — and then making them possible. Christ ordered his Apostles : "Going therefore, teach ye all nations... Teaching them to observe all things whatsoever I have commanded you." He then added : "And behold I am with you all days, even to the consummation of the world . . . and the gates of hell shall not prevail . . ."

The first disciples, led by a fisherman who became Pope and a tentmaker who became the "Apostle of the Gentiles", certainly were considered crazy when they spread out in all directions as if they were really going to attempt the impossible : to conquer the world for Christ. And yet, after the first decade of centuries, it seemed that they had not done so badly, for the western world had become a Christian world. We of the twentieth century know that the times of undisturbed predominance of Christianity are a memory of "auld lang syne". But we know

also that the times of undisturbed forgetfulness of Christianity also belong to the past. For the nations which had comfortably set aside the religious and moral principles of the Church as something impractical in economics and politics have finally found against them the brutally enforced principles of a paganism which has gone all the way, even to the deification of instinct and the glorification of evil. In other words, the evil that is generally so cleverly masked and so conveniently hidden in history has suddenly shown its full stature and has acquired, in aggression, oppression and war, a horrible visibility. What the preachers have preached with vehemence and the religious writers have tried to prove with reasoning has now suddenly become evident in the blood, sweat and tears caused by the greatest scourge of God since Attila. And the majority of humanity has seen this lesson and has trembled and suffered... and is now fighting against the evil it had ignored for the higher principles it had forgotten.

This is the greatest opportunity in centuries for a world-wide revival of Christianity. This is the time when the great masses of the forgetful and indifferent are thinking more than they have ever done before. The bases of the old comfortable bourgeois order are obviously shaken and probably gone forever. But the principles of Christianity which give strength for sacrifice and promise a paradise that is not of this world appear now to be the only values which are permanent. The masses, who hesitated, compromised and were ready to abandon the faith of their fathers, are now in action on

the side of Christianity. But they must be led to advance all the way in the right direction. They are all out to win the war, but would not yet go so far as to be all out to win souls. They are, more than ever, enthusiastic in the crusade for democracy, but they would not yet give their whole heart and whole mind to a crusade for God.

This is the call of the Pro Deo Movement : to go out to the chastened masses and exploit these modern spiritual potentialities, using the most modern means. We can go to the masses in many new ways which were unknown to the first apostles who had to gather the crowds around them on the roads and market places, who cried to them from the pulpit and from the rooftop. We can go to the masses through the news columns and pictures, through the waves of the ether and through the vibrations of the silver screen. We can reach modern man when he is easy to move in meetings. We can reach him when he is alone in his room and free from superficial impressions.

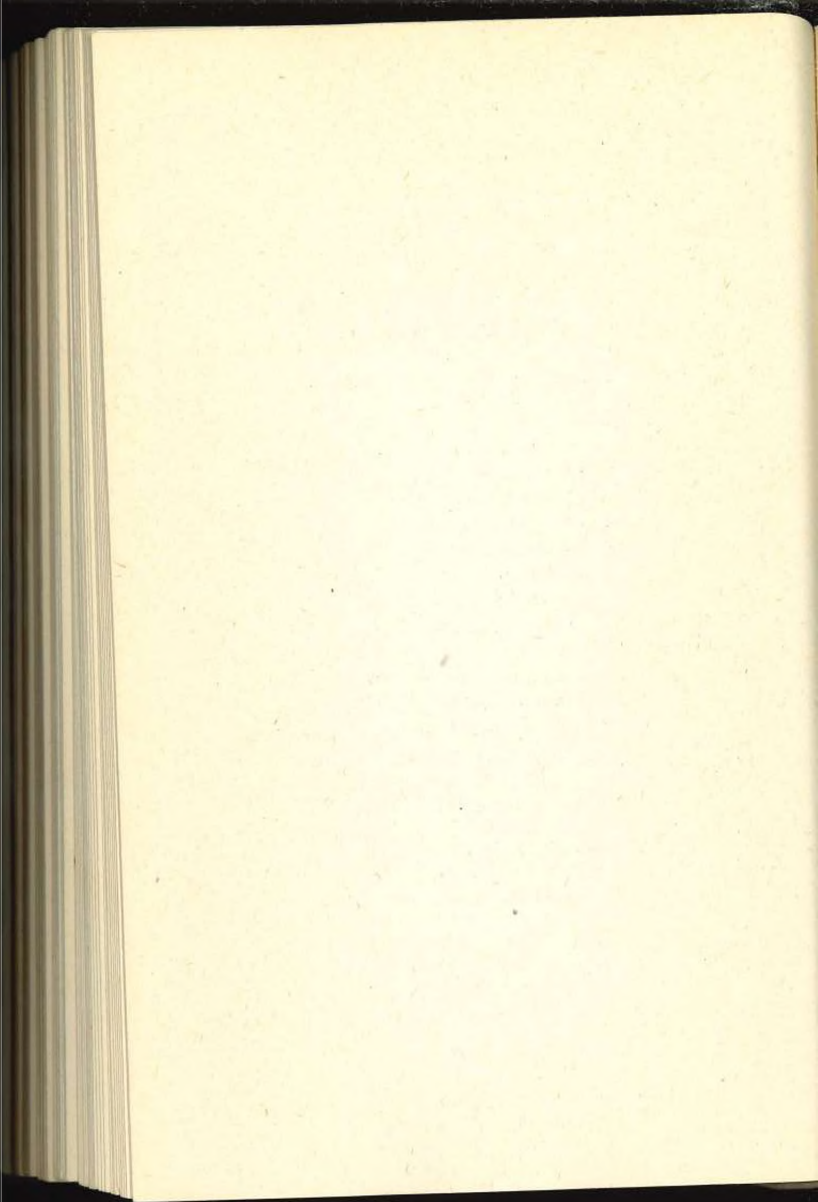
What happens in souls we shall never know. But we know that modern inventions are made to be instruments of the spirit and that through them can be established deep contact from soul to soul. Through the most diverse modern media of communication, behind the news and the features, story and picture, the forlorn soul of the modern semi-pagan can meet his brother, the Christian. He must discover that the Christian is the most human of men, who understands instead of condemning, who gives instead of asking, who "is patient, is kind", who "envieth not, dealeth not perversely :

is not puffed up, is not ambitious, seeketh not his own, is not provoked to anger, thinketh no evil, rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth with the truth : beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things." And the last reward of the apostolate of public opinion is to bow ultimately in silence, for words venture to the confines of man's inner world, but God's grace alone can enter.

It is in this spirit that the "Offensive for God" first launched its slogan in the first Antwerp convention of 1933 : "Be joyful in the idea of God, be radical in the love of neighbor, be fanatic in the will to spiritual conquest." The joy Pro Deo is deeper than the deepest disturbances. The radicalism Pro Deo is a revolution, not in politics but in souls. The fanaticism Pro Deo is the spiritual dynamism of a minority that can overcome the brutal dynamism of evil.

It is in this spirit that the first Pro Deo book in this hemisphere concludes with a blunt request : If you agree with these fundamentals, do not offer your sympathies, but offer your energies to the many tasks which have been outlined for you.

For not he who wastes words, "Lord, Lord !", but he who puts his hand to the plow and looks not backward has really heard the call of God.



APPENDIX I

CONSTITUTION
of
INTERCIP

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF CENTERS
OF INFORMATION PRO DEO

ARTICLE I

AIM

INTERCIP is a foundation dedicated to the development of the Pro Deo Movement for the penetration of religious ideas into public opinion. It is predicated on the conviction that the brutal forces of paganism and the undermining forces of indifferentism cannot be overcome unless men of faith abandon passivity and isolationism and develop a dynamic policy of presence in public affairs.

ARTICLE II

FUNDAMENTAL POLICIES

- 1) The Pro Deo Movement advocates, for the re-establishment of the idea of God as the center

of all human things, an indirect approach through the clarification of those spiritual issues which are involved in temporal affairs. Since religious ideas cannot act as leaven in the world if separated from the temporal concerns of man, it pays full attention to those subjects which are of current interest to the common man so as to show unobtrusively how they are linked, in the final analysis, to some moral or spiritual issue.

2) The Pro Deo Movement advocates practical cooperation between Catholics and non-Catholics, with the aim of making religious motives the strongest force in public life. It stresses the need for the cooperation of all men of good will who hold the self-evident truths of natural law concerning the rights and duties of man in society. It maintains that the moral norms which are "written in the heart of man" are illuminated and further explained through the traditions of the great world religions and, most completely, through the Christian tradition, which made Western Civilization. Consequently, the Pro Deo Movement holds that the spirit of denominational controversy has to be kept out of the common concern for the reconstruction of temporal society on universal moral principles.

3) The Pro Deo Movement advocates furthering the acceptance of international and inter-continental solidarity against narrow nationalistic tendencies. Inspired by the spirit of brotherhood, ultimately based on the fatherhood of God, it promotes interest and understanding for the sound heritages and achievements of all peoples and furthers a richer current of culture and a broader scope of

progress by the close interaction of West and East, North and South. It emphasizes the importance of religious motives in the educational formation of the international outlook of the citizen. It promotes measures which tend to organize world society through the practical recognition of the interdependence of all nations, which under divine Providence, is becoming a fact in the present stage of civilization.

4) The Pro Deo Movement advocates the dissemination of the fundamentals of government by free consent, so as to provide the masses everywhere with a sound philosophy of State. It holds that in practice the principles which justify government by free consent with the active participation of the governed are best adapted to those nations which have achieved political maturity. The Pro Deo Movement emphasizes, however, that complete education must be organized for the peoples who are still immature. Such education would then be instrumental in shortening the period until they are able to assume the full exercise of political freedom. The Pro Deo Movement shall continue to unmask totalitarian and eventual neo-totalitarian ideologies and myths which tend to the subjugation of man by man, and to clarify the ideas which establish the primacy of man over State, — ideas which are ultimately founded on the acceptance of the immutable laws of God, manifested in the conscience of man. The Pro Deo Movement does not bind itself to any form of government or to any political party, but dedicates itself to the dissemination of those universal ideas which, when co-

ordinated, tend to inspire the realization of government by free consent, differently in different countries.

5) The Pro Deo Movement advocates as a duty of religious-minded citizens the furthering of just economic, social and cultural improvements, so as to guarantee that every human being can enjoy the God-given rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. It opposes reactionary forces which, through ignorance, inertia or bad will, tend to hinder the normal progress of mankind. It supports cooperation with all who, even if they do not always clearly grasp the spiritual nature of man and his dependence on God, still honestly pursue objectives favorable to the full development of the common man.

ARTICLE III

ORGANIZATIONAL PRINCIPLES

1) As the aim of the Pro Deo Movement is the development of an international movement of public opinion based on universal ideas, the organization of the Centers of Information Pro Deo is essentially international. The different national and local Centers do not constitute a federation of essentially independent organizations, but are closely united.

2) As the unity of the Pro Deo Centers is based on fundamental policies and not on any partisan political program, the national Centers enjoy flexibility and variety in the application of the common policies to local situations.

3) As the Pro Deo Movement is dedicated to the diffusion of some basic ideas through various channels, it does not create a new mass organization which would inevitably enter into competition with others. Its organized Centers and its promoters endeavor, on the contrary, to win leading individuals who can influence public opinion. It offers the large organizations already in existence materials of quality which can aid them in strengthening religious consciousness in their own milieu.

4) Recognizing that the practical application of these fundamentals to matters where temporal and spiritual issues are intermingled is not possible without taking the usual risks of trial and error, INTERCIP is *constituted under lay leadership* which does not involve the responsibility of Church authorities. The lay leaders, however, will follow the indications laid down by the spiritual adviser of the organization, whom they consult on matters of faith and morals. The Pro Deo Movement also counts on the members of the clergy who are called to use the benefits of their doctrinal training and pastoral experience to advise and collaborate in efforts to establish sound and inspired public opinion.

ARTICLE IV

SERVICES

The National Centers of Information (CIP) are composed of the following sections:

1) *News services* which edit the *CIP Correspondence* for leaders of public opinion, also gen-

eral press services and special services (syndicated columns, exclusive articles, radio scripts, etc.).

2) *A research bureau* which prepares materials for forums, courses, manifestoes, books, etc.

3) *Promotion services* which specialize in popularizing fundamental ideas through booklets, leaflets, special tabloids, posters, exhibitions, meetings, film and play presentations, etc.

ARTICLE V

AUXILIARY CENTERS

Regional and Local Centers of Action Pro Deo are founded in principal cities as auxiliaries of the national Centers and undertake the following tasks:

1) To organize news coverage and special inquiries for CIP.

2) To organize Study Groups and, eventually, courses.

3) To diffuse CIP materials, organize forums and use other means of influencing public opinion. The development of personal contacts with leaders of public opinion is considered more important than spectacular propaganda.

ARTICLE VI

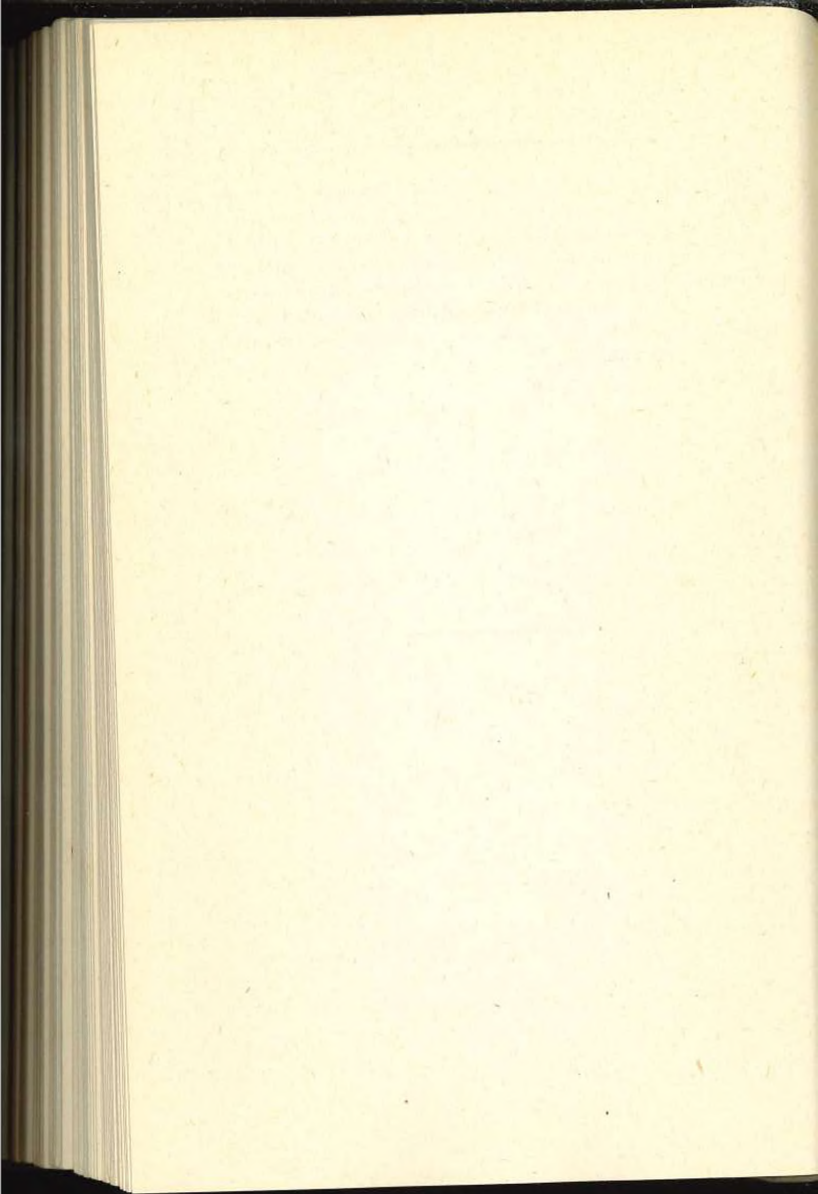
PROMOTERS "PRO DEO"

Prominent persons who cannot devote time to the activities in Pro Deo Centers but who approve them, are asked to cooperate in local, national or

international work by acting as Promoters of the Pro Deo Movement:

1) To express publicly their agreement with the policies of the Pro Deo Movement (eventually in manifestoes) and appeal for wider cooperation.

2) To promote individually the introduction of the Pro Deo Movement into circles where they exert influence.



APPENDIX II

IN MEMORIAM

DR. HEIN HOEBEN, PIONEER OF THE INTERNATIONAL CATHOLIC PRESS MOVEMENT

In the last pain-racked days of his life, Dr. Hein Hoeben made only one request of his guard at the ill-famed S.S. prison in Berlin: that his prayer-book, confiscated at the time of his imprisonment, be returned to him. This was denied him. As post-mortem testimony from an exceptionally reliable person who spoke with Hoeben a few days before his death, this touching detail sheds a revealing light on the unprecedented fury with which the Nazis turn against those who are guilty of having, earlier than others, discovered the truth about the anti-religion behind their "Christian" maneuvers.

February 28th marked the second anniversary of the death of this pioneer of the Catholic international network of information. It is fitting that certain features of his life should be recalled to illustrate the war of ideologies which started so long before the war of steel. Like many Dutch Catholics, Hein Hoeben had been attracted by German culture and took his degree in liberal arts at the University of Munich. First as literary critic, later as one of

the leading staff writers on the *Koelnische Volkszeitung*, Germany's top-ranking Catholic newspaper, he fought for Christian democracy. When the dynamic Jesuit, Friedrich Muckerman, started his network of news and feature services, young Dr. Hoeben was one of his collaborators. In 1928, he returned to Holland where he founded, at his hometown, Breda, the *Katholieke Wereldpost* (Catholic Worldpost) which, starting very humbly, was to become the pivot of the international Catholic press organization. At the "Pressa Catholica" exhibition at Cologne, 1928, it was the tall, spare figure of the self-effacing but intensely perseverant Dutchman who finally became the center of a committee to prepare an international clearing-house of Catholic news. With dogged persistence, Hoeben brought this idea nearer realization each year, in spite of a lack of comprehension in many Catholic circles. When Hitler suppressed the German Catholic press service as one of the first blows against Christianity after his bid for power succeeded, Hoeben continued the work, editing news in Holland and serving the German-speaking papers of Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, Brazil, Chile. Even before the tanks and planes of Nazi Germany had enslaved the German-speaking Europeans to the "new order", blackmail and physical threats organized by the "Auslandsdeutsche" fifth column had hindered German papers in Brazil and Chile from continuing their anti-Nazi campaign, which was fed by Dr. Hoeben's services. It soon became dangerous for Dr. Hoeben to enter Germany but, undaunted, he continued his regular trips, using false passports. One now-famous Fulda Pastoral was in the hands

of Dr. Hoeben before the Nazis knew its content and was released from Breda one hour after its diffusion had been forbidden in Germany.

The incessant efforts of Dr. Hoeben were recognized at the International Press Convention at the Vatican, September 1936, when he was given, as lay leader (with the title of General Secretary of the Permanent Committee), the mandate to coordinate the international Catholic press movement through the establishment of one central clearing-house. The practical arrangements for the starting of the daily press releases of the International Catholic Press Agency were achieved through the pooling of staffs and resources of the Breda Agency with the Catholic Press Center of Brussels. Dr. Hoeben was constantly traveling to Rome, Spain, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Germany, to perfect this network for gathering information. His quiet enthusiasm won even the most skeptical. Dr. Hoeben, from 1937 on, devoted much of his time to the fight against Nazism. The influence of the CP Agency was felt so keenly in many countries that Goebbels was obliged to create a "Catholic Press Service" in Berlin, in an effort to counteract its influence (see Appendix IV). Finally, a direct war of nerves was started six months before the invasion of Holland. Every night Dutch Nazis telephoned Dr. Hoeben: "Stop your anti-Nazism news, or we will get you when we take over!" Dr. Hoeben's wife became so disturbed that the house phone had to be disconnected at night. But Dr. Hoeben never flinched for a moment in his work. On the very day of the invasion, early in the morning, low-flying German planes, meeting no anti-aircraft opposition, made

a direct hit with incendiary bombs on the new building of the Breda Center, an easy mark, as it was built in the middle of a garden, and destroyed with explosives the private house of Dr. Hoeben who fled, with his family, to the Belgian Center, and from there to Paris. In the confusion of the French capitulation, he was caught by the Nazis, first placed in an ordinary concentration camp and then removed to the ill-famed S.S. prison in Berlin. In spite of hideous torture, he gave the Nazis no information regarding his network. His once-strong constitution broke after two years of Gestapo treatment, when he was only 42 years of age. Goebbels did not forget one last attention: he issued an order forbidding papers to comment upon Hoeben's death. Dr. Hoeben was more than just a militant anti-Nazi. He was one of the prototypes of the all-round lay apostle. His primary objective was the positive dissemination of spiritual principles in the modern world. It is in this line that the CIP press agencies have continued the task and have been closely united to the Pro Deo Movement which was the great ideal and the great consolation of his last free years.

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APPENDIX III

THE NAZIS AND THE CATHOLIC PRESS CENTER OF BRUSSELS

From information gathered from various sources, it is possible to distinguish, in the Nazi dealings with the Catholic Press Center of Brussels, certain characteristic tactics. The Nazi maneuvers fall into an almost-uniform pattern. They generally start with an offensive of smiles, which, in this case, was their first approach. Up to 1935, German officials, mainly of press and film departments, showed exaggerated friendliness towards the leaders of Belgian Catholic services of press, film and radio. When this failed to produce tangible results, they started to send spies, easily detected because of their over-anxiousness to please. One instance is that of a "Russian refugee", claiming to have fled from Russia and from Germany to Belgium, who constantly called to offer "inside information". His stories were so patently untrue that he soon became a laughing stock.

When Belgium was invaded, the German friendliness soon showed its true nature. The Catholic Press Center was one of the first buildings taken over and occupied. At the end of 1940, a refugee who had escaped to Lisbon, told CIP correspondents that one of his friends, arrested by the Gestapo, was taken to the Catholic Press Center offices at Brussels

where he was questioned regarding an accusation that he had hidden English soldiers. He soon learned that they had become the headquarters of that part of the Gestapo "which deals out death sentences". In the beginning of 1941, a second report was received by CIP correspondents, but the complete details of it cannot be revealed at this time because of possibly endangering those who made the investigation. Further confirmation was given in a third report received by the Belgian Government Press Agency in London and published by "INBEL", October 6, 1942:

"Among the numerous German services established at Brussels since the invasion, the G.F.P. is typical ('Geheime Feldpolizei' — military secret police). This is a division of the Gestapo. It occupies itself with the business of espionage and with all activities against the German army. Its offices have been set up at Numbers 6 and 8 Rue Traversière, in the section of the North Station.

"A report received from occupied Belgium says that it was by violence and despotism that the G.F.P. acquired those locations of which it had need. On August 5, 1940, the Gestapo invaded No. 6 Rue Traversière and took over the offices of the Catholic Press Center, of Catholic Film Action and of DOCIP, which had their headquarters there. Two days after, the archives and the equipment were seized and put under lock and key. Three weeks later, one division of the G.F.P. occupied the offices. The owner of the property was obliged to assume the occultation of the real estate, which cost him 6,000 francs.

"Meanwhile, the strong-box of the Catholic Press Center had been broken and emptied, and a part of the movable contents transported to the Gestapo headquarters, a nine-story building on Louise Avenue, located between the intersection and the Bois de la Cambre, whose official name is 'Sonder Kommando der G.F.P.'.

"The Catholic Press Center of Brussels was the Belgian affiliate of the International Catholic Press Bureau of Breda, whose Director, Dr. H. J. C. Hoeben, died in a German concentration camp."

A complementary report, received through a person who escaped to Switzerland in 1942, indicated that "grave damage had been wrought on the offices of the Catholic Press Center". This was obviously the result of a more thorough search for documents. It was unsuccessful because the documentation on Germany as well as on other matters is known to be still in safe hiding places.

More direct confirmation of German attempts to use Father Morlion's name and influence is given in a story printed in the February 22, 1942, issue of the Nazi-controlled *Volk en Staat* of Antwerp. At that moment Father Morlion was in the United States, but according to *Volk en Staat*: "The Priest Morlion will soon deliver a lecture under the title, 'The one subject worth speaking about now — Communism'". *Volk en Staat* then went on to describe the contents of the forthcoming lecture, saying that it was Father Morlion's opinion that "the present Catholic Action is of no value. The only useful questions are: How many Catholics are able to use fire-arms and how many will be able

to fight for their religion against Communism?" The Nazis were obviously using the knowledge that the Catholic Press Center had been a strong opponent of atheistic Bolshevism, and were attempting to make the people believe that Father Morlion was still in Belgium lecturing against Communism. This was obviously in line with Nazi efforts to gain adherents to their crusade against Bolshevism and their principle that lies are always believed by someone. Just how they thought they would be able to get away with such an impersonation is not known, and the plan was probably dropped when they found that the Belgians would not accept a bogus Morlion.

APPENDIX IV

GOEBBELS' "CATHOLIC" PRESS SERVICE

The break in diplomatic relations between Argentina and Germany has closed the last loophole through which the *Catholic Press Service*, founded in 1937 in Berlin by Propaganda Minister Goebbels, has been able to create confusion in the minds of Catholics in this hemisphere.

This is the end of one of the most typical stories of Nazi deceit. Its different episodes reveal how Mr. Goebbels has been forced to retreat successively when he tried to found a Catholic section of Nazi propaganda.

The first "Catholic" press service of Mr. Goebbels was organized as an attempt to counteract the International Catholic Press Agency, CP, of Breda-Brussels, which, in opening uncensored channels to receive authoritative information about German persecutions, had attracted wide attention all over the world, with its revelations regarding the methods used in the "immorality trials", in the "currency trials" and in other forms of camouflaged Nazi persecution of religion. The daily CP (of which CIP is a war-time continuation) had been able to prove, for instance, (through ecclesiastical

reports) that out of 3,000 priests accused by the Nazis of immorality, only 13 cases were based on facts and, of these, 7 had already been expelled from their religious Congregations. In these and numerous other cases, the "standing" of the Nazi Reich had greatly suffered. Goebbels found a pro-Nazi priest, Father Leonard, pastor of a small village near Berlin, to agree to be head of his "Catholic" press agency. The weekly "Catholic" propaganda sheets gave glowing pictures of Nazi support of the Catholic Church and were sent, free of charge, to all Catholic papers of Europe as well as to thousands of writers, lecturers and industrialists. Father Leonard was, however, soon driven, by the irrefutable factual disclosures of CP, to declare in one of his articles that "Hitler cannot be judged by the old standards because he is the new type of humanity". Leonard was also sent on a lecture tour to Holland and Belgium, and his efforts were supplemented by strong attacks by the Nazi radio against the "international political machine" of the Breda-Brussels Agency.

Although the activities of the "Catholic" agency were made to appear as a private initiative under direction of a priest, a special investigation, made by the International Catholic Agency of Breda-Brussels, managed to disclose the real nature of the Nazi deceit. The Bishop of Berlin, Count von Preysing, although subjected to Nazi pressure not to interfere in what the Nazis considered a political affair of their own, took drastic steps, and Father Leonard resigned.

Mr. Goebbels then retreated to a less favorable position and found a certain Father Anselmus

Vriens to take over the job. Dutch-born, Vriens had entered the Trappist monastery of Diepeveen and, deserting the monastery, had accepted the chaplaincy for students in Berlin. Bishop von Preysing could take no steps against him because he was living in defiance of his Order and, consequently, in an irregular status. Vriens chose for this new "Catholic" press the name *Pro Deo et Patria*, which was to cause confusion with the Pro Deo Movement for the penetration of religious ideas into public life, then growing in Europe. This new press service covered other Christian circles in addition to Catholic circles, and appeared weekly in five languages. This service was even less influential than the first, and, in 1939, it was discontinued — probably as a result of the vigorous expositions of the fraud. Vriens was later transferred to a Quisling position where, according to the Nazi press, he was "spiritual director of eleven thousand Dutch workers and thirteen thousand Flemish Catholic workers in Berlin".

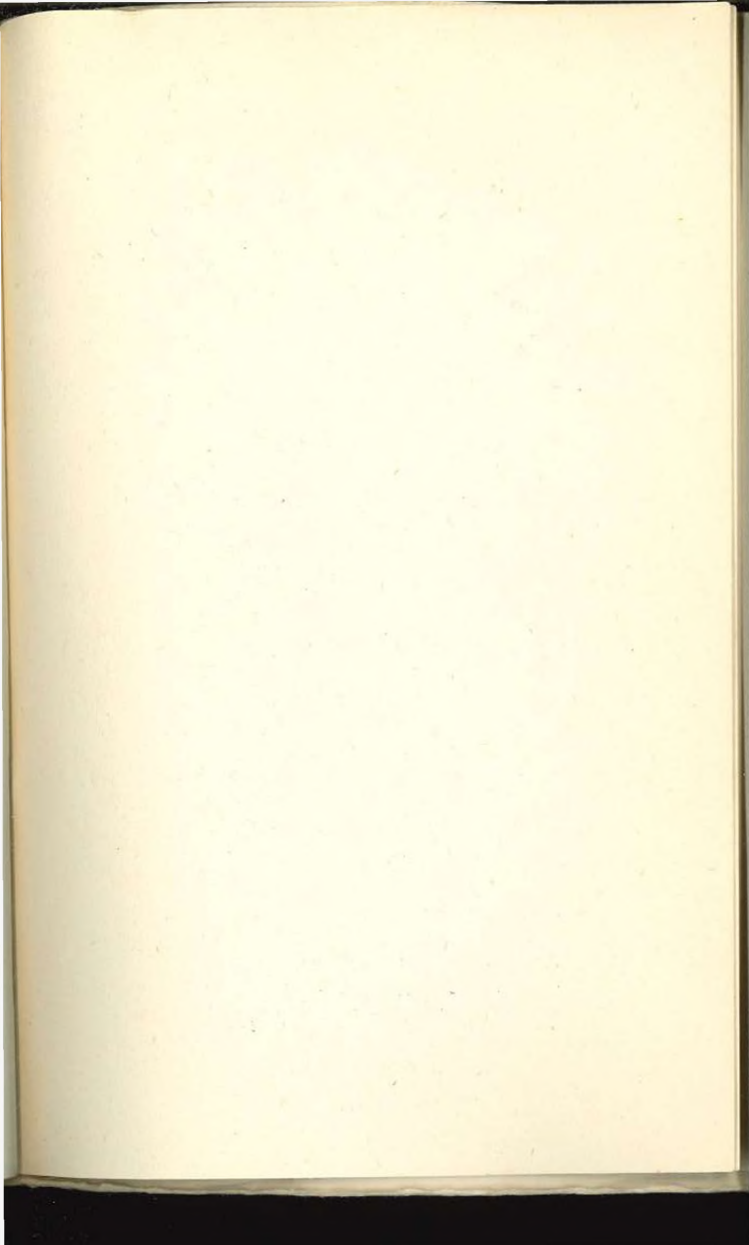
In 1940 Goebbels made a third attempt, founding a network of press agencies called the *European Service of Cultural Information*. His line was now to avoid trying to use the authority of the Church, but to have the news items written in a very ecclesiastical style. This service had editions in six languages, of which the Portuguese and Spanish were the most important. The Spanish edition SEIC (*Servicio Europeo de Informacion Cultural*), which had a large diffusion not only in Spain but also in Latin America, was sent out by a certain "Gustav Friedigkeit, Berlin W 62", who had to make the impression that he was a Catholic lay

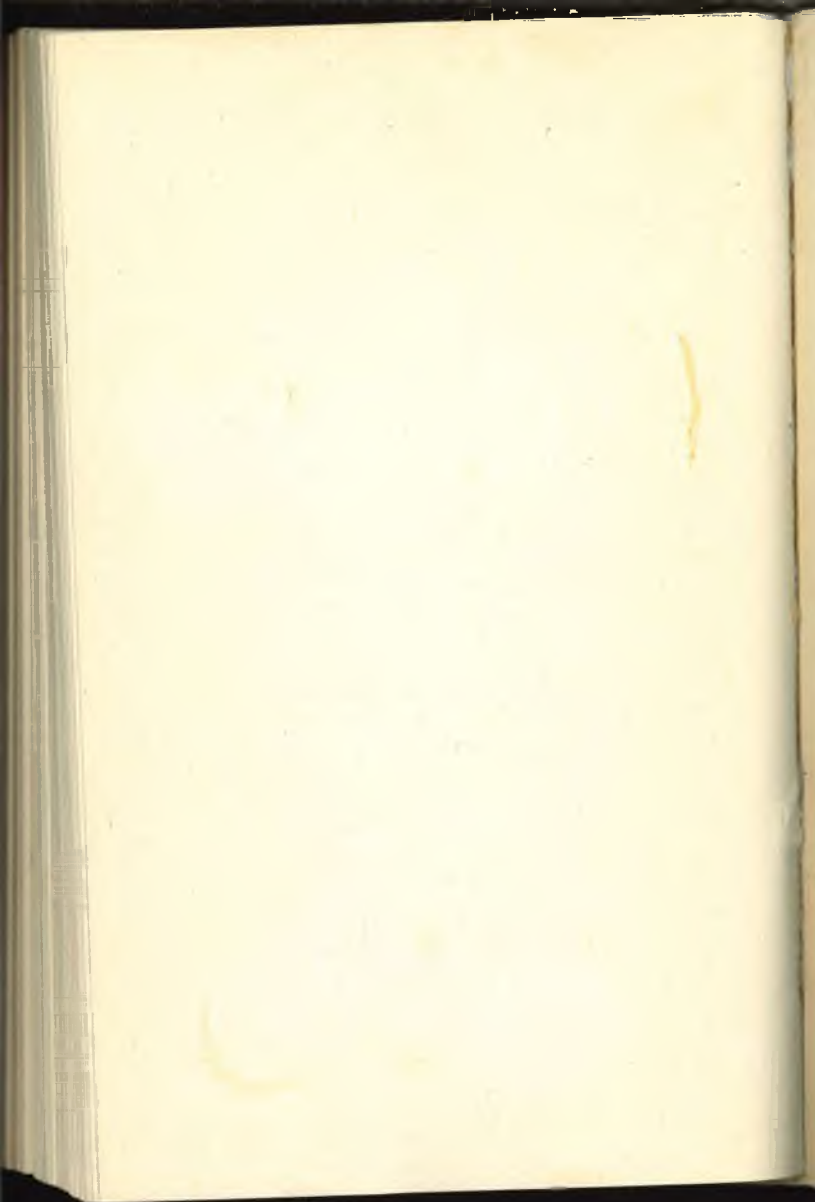
apostle desiring to contact his Spanish-speaking brethren. Articles and news items, in excellent Spanish, avoiding open propaganda, sought in many subtly disguised ways to paint Nazi Germany as the champion of twentieth century progress. Religious items were made to appear especially Catholic, as, for example, when Hilaire Belloc was quoted as saying that England has already lost her Christian faith. General news items about occupied countries related how German authorities took active measures for preserving and restoring Catholic cathedrals and churches, receiving "great proof of gratitude from the population". The "unbelief and materialism" of England and America were stressed, and, subtly and indirectly, through examples of German patronage of religion, insinuations were made that persecution rumors were "just Jewish lies". A CIP collaborator who studied the diffusion of this service in seven countries of Latin-America found that several persons in Argentina and Chile who were accustomed to receiving mail from the International Catholic federations located in Belgium and France had remarked that the SEIC started to reach them shortly after the invasions of Belgium and France and that changes in their address or official function in Catholic Action were not taken into account. CIP was then able to unmask this latest maneuver, proving that the SEIC had used the mailing lists confiscated by the Gestapo in occupied Europe. The SEIC, although discredited, continued to be sent, gratis, to Catholic Action offices, to Catholic publications and individuals. In restricted circles, the "Catholic" information of Mr.

Goebbels still managed to find acceptance and formed the substance of specialized whispering campaigns and occasional reprints.

Now that the last loophole in this hemisphere is closed, Mr. Goebbels will find it extremely difficult to find other ways of canonizing the Nazi regime.

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